575 The societies known as Little Birds, Mosquitoes, and
[883] Doves are not really bands of the All Comrades, but are
societies among the boys and young men in imitation of the
[178] *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi*, but of comparatively recent origin. Men
not more than fifty years old can remember when these
societies came into existence. Of all the societies of the
I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi, the Sin'-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the
strongest medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society
among the Bloods. They are the same band with different
names. They have certain peculiar secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here.

The society of the Stum'-ĭks, or Bulls, became obsolete more than fifty years ago. Their dress was very fine, — bulls' heads and robes.

575 The members of the younger society purchased individu-
424 ally, from the next older one, its rights and privileges, pay-
ing horses for them. For example, each member of the
● 432 Mosquitoes would purchase from some member of the Braves
his right of membership in the latter society. The man
who has sold his rights is then a member of no society, and
if he wishes to belong to one, must buy into the one next
[887] higher. Each of these societies kept some old men as members, and these old men acted as messengers, orators, and so on.

575 The change of membership from one society to another
[344] was made in the spring, after the grass had started. Two,
three, or more lodge coverings were stretched over poles,
making one very large lodge, and in this the ceremonies accompanying the changes took place.

575 In later times, the Braves were the most important and
625 best known of any of the All Comrades societies. The
members of this band were soldiers or police. They were
the constables of the camp, and it was their duty to preserve
689 order, and to punish offenders. Sometimes young men
522 would skylark in camp at night, making a great noise when

627 In the more serious cases of adult disputes, force and physical punishment
were employed if gossip failed. In cases of murder, a revenge killing might take
682 place if a high payment was not offered in retribution and accepted. A person who
689 disrupted the summer hunt might be beaten and have his clothing and weapons
destroyed. An adulterous woman might have her nose cut off, or be put to death
684 by the members of her husband's warrior society (Grinnell 1907:220, Ewers
1958:97–98; Wissler 1911:24–26 discuss specific punishments).

157 These forces contributed to the development of some general personality characteristics of the Blackfeet. Grinnell found them, like other Plains Indians, to be "talkative, merry, and lighthearted," and fond of joking, even though they appeared reserved and quiet when with strangers (Grinnell 1907:181). Wissler commented on their fondness for jest and practical jokes (Wissler 1911:52–53). In addition, I get a picture of a brave, resourceful people, industrious and aggressive, yet much concerned with self, jealous, and easily shamed. These characteristics and their expression were further reinforced by the Blackfeet beliefs.

Religion

869 While learning all these skills and rules, the young people were learning as well the beliefs that gave the practices validity, supported the rights and privileges of age, gave meaning to the Blackfeet world, and added supernatural reinforcement to the moral code.

All of the Blackfeet universe was invested with a pervasive supernatural
778 power that could be met with in the natural environment. A man could seek and
787 avail himself of this power through proper behavior and ritual. He went alone to
a remote place to fast and pray, and to await the dream or vision that would transfer
785 power to him. If he was successful the supernatural appeared to him, usually in
animate form, and promised aid and success in all or specific endeavors, if the man
in return would observe faithfully a series of taboos and periodically re-enact in
778 ritual the experience by which he had received the power. The spirit-being instructed the petitioner to make a medicine bundle containing the symbols of his
776 power and taught him the appropriate songs and rituals. The spirit was now his
guardian and could be called upon for protection in times of trouble.

The powers, paraphernalia, and rituals became the personal property of the
owner. He and the spirit dealt with each other as individuals, and any group benefits to be expected from this relationship were dependent on the inclinations of the
778 individual owner. The complete power, bundle, songs, and ritual could be sold,
● 432 or transferred, by one individual to another for a price. The owners of some bundles could sell short-term benefits of their power, as well, usually by going through
the ceremony of the bundle for the benefit of an individual, the family, band, or
tribe, or through the preparation of a charm to be used by the purchaser. Ewers
relates how Wolf Calf acquired horse medicine power and how he used it, how he
transferred parts of the power and how these parts and the bundle itself were
transferred to a series of men from those days in the early nineteenth century on
778 up into the time of Ewer's informants of the 1940s (Ewers 1955:258–261). The
421

[ca. 1850]

851 care of the family horse herd. The boy herder rose before day-
233 light to go after the horses in their night pasture and drove them
to a near-by lake or stream for water. Then he drove them to
good pasturage near camp and returned home to breakfast. He
watched the grazing herd during the day and drove it to water
at noon and again in late afternoon. Toward evening he drove
the herd to night pasture and hobbled the lead mare to prevent
the herd from straying.

883 Boys who had lots of nerve began to break horses for riding
when they were twelve or thirteen years of age. The easiest and
231 least dangerous way to break broncs was in a pond or stream.
Two boys rode double on a trained horse, leading the bronc by
a rope or halter. They rode into the water until the bronc was
up to its shoulders. Then the front rider held the lead rope close
to its chin while the other boy climbed on its back. The lad on
the trained horse quickly passed the rope to the bronc rider.
As soon as the bronc felt the weight of the boy on his back, he
began to jump and buck, but as soon as his head got wet, he
quieted down. He tired quickly, and the boy rode him out of
the water. If the bronc still showed a lot of spirit it was led back
into the water again for another session.

At other times boys led a bronco into a muddy or swampy area to break it. Then one of them jumped on its back. When the horse tried to buck, its feet sank into the mire. If the rider was thrown, he would not be hurt. The horse's spirit was broken before it could get out of this boggy training ground.[9]

883 Orphaned boys could find homes with wealthy families by
looking after the large horse herds and assisting in the hunt.
[224] All boys began to hunt buffalo calves in their early teens, and
not long thereafter they graduated to hunting adult buffalo and
[231] some of them began to join horse-raiding parties. Only the sons
of wealthy men could look forward to a good marriage before
they had begun to accumulate a herd of their own horses.

[575] In their late teens a group of young men banded together to
[561] purchase membership in the lowest of the graded men's societies

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[9] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull* 159, 60–64.

[432]

[ca. 1850]

at the tribal sun dance encampment. They selected a leader, who 883
presented a pipe to the leader of the society. Each of the other
youths gave pipes to other members of the society. If the pipes 575
were accepted, the petitioners were expected to make other 561
gifts of horses and valuable goods to those who relinquished 432
their society membership to them and who taught them the
ceremonial procedures of the organization. It was usual for societies to sell out to a group of younger men every four years.

There were seven of these age-graded men's societies among 561
the Blackfeet in 1833. The youngest group was then the Mos-
quitos, the oldest the Buffalo Bulls. Two decades later the Bulls 575
Society among the Piegans had become inactive on account of the death of many of its older members, but a new society, the Pigeons, or Doves, had been added to the bottom of the series.[10]

Because members of these societies belonged to different hunting bands, they were only active during the summer season when
the tribal camp was organized. At that time the head chief called [625]
upon one or two of the societies, usually the younger of the
mature groups, to police the camp and the tribal hunt. In the [796]
sun dance camp each society performed its peculiar ceremony. Collectively, the men's societies were known as the All-Comrades.[11]

There was another and even closer relationship between boys 572
of the same band, that of partners. Two boys of about the same age became close companions. They played together as children, helped each other in courting girls, went to war together, and offered advice and assistance to each other whenever it might be needed. If a young man was wounded in battle, his partner risked his life to carry him to safety and stayed behind the rest of the war party until the disabled man was able to be helped home. In many instances this close friendship and mutual assistance between partners continued through the rest of their lives.

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[10] Maximilian, *Travels*, II, 112–17.

[11] Clark Wissler, "Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. XI, Part 4, 361–450. Includes detailed description of specialized paraphernalia and ceremonies of each society.

Rape, selling of a daughter, wife, mother, sister or other woman to
another Indian or white man; beating one's wife, assault, threat to kill 671
another Indian; theft or sale of horses stolen from a white man; and 673
the buying, selling, or keeping of intoxicating liquors were listed as 177
offenses punishable by fine or imprisonment in this first written code
of laws for the Blackfoot. For some offenses (theft, assault, threat to 681
kill) payment of the fine in "horses, robes and peltries" was specified. These were the Indian possessions that had the greatest monetary value in the white man's culture. Probably that fact, rather than desire to follow Indian tradition in the payment of fines, influenced the Government in spelling out its punishments in that revolutionary legal document.

THE HORSE IN SOCIETY ORGANIZATION AND CEREMONIES

Green Grass Bull cited a Piegan tradition to the effect that the
custom of purchasing membership in a society originated shortly 575
after the organization of the first men's society in that tribe, when 432 ●
another group of men sought to obtain this society from its organizers. Of Blackfoot societies Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 117) wrote in 1833, "New members are chosen into all these unions who are obliged to pay entrance; medicine men, and the most distinguished men, have to pay more than other people."

Green Grass Bull gave a generalized description of society purchase, minor details of which differed from society to society.

> A group of men all about the same age, decided to join a society. They selected a wealthy young man for a leader. Each man took a pipe filled with tobacco. The leader gave his pipe to the leader of the society into which the group wished to buy. Other young men of the group each offered a pipe to a member of the society. If accepted, each society member also received presents from the petitioner who offered him his pipe. Sometimes these gifts were horses, but they might be something else.

The Blood Indian women's society, Matoki, formerly erected a
lodge, open at the top and surrounded by horse travois implanted in 575
the ground with their upper extremities tied to the lodge framework. 344
Scraping White said that he had been told the Matoki used dog travois around their lodge in the same way prior to the acquisition of horses. He was unaware of the symbolism. However, if the Matoki ceremony of driving buffalo into the park (lodge) seen by Maximilian in 1833 (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, pp. 112–115) dates back to pre-horse days, the symbolism is clear. It was a ceremonial enactment of the driving of buffalo into a pound surrounded with upended dog travois, reported by Weasel Tail as traditional hunting procedure in pre-horse days. In the course of its history the Matoki Society apparently substituted the more recent horse travois for the older dog travois in the construction of their lodge.

439 157

> "They are notorious thieves; when we hear of a band coming in every piece of iron or other European article that can be carried off must be shut up."[144]

439 They are also described as great bargainers.

439 157

> "I have seen one of this tribe employ ½ hour in bartering a dozen wolves and twice as many Depouilles (fat on the ribs and back) and so unreasonable as to demand a Gun, Pistol, or any other article that attracted his attention for one Skin . . . "[145]

Maximilian notes this in another connection:

> "The Crows in their visits and negotiations presented the Blackfoot with valuable articles, costly feather caps, shields, horses, etc. but received nothing at all when they came to the latter, by which all the Indians are incensed against the Blackfoot. In this respect the other tribes showed much more delicacy."[146]

The unusual shrewdness of the Blackfoot in their trade with the whites, their sharp bargaining, their disregard of tradition in not giving return gifts to the Crow, and the firing of the prairie to raise the price of meat were, according to the fur traders, uniquely Blackfoot, and must be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that they were subject to a competitive fur trade which made good businessmen of them.

Religion

432 425 778 [782] This commercialism of the Blackfoot was not limited to their trading practices but became characteristic of many aspects of their institutions. This was especially apparent in the buying and selling of bundles. Religious bundles such as the Medicine Pipe bundle, Beaver bundle, and Sun Dance bundle were bought by an individual, usually in fulfillment of a vow made in time of misfortune. Although the bundle transfer was part of a religious ceremony, the interest of the buyer, the seller and the community was centered upon the property exchanges involved. To sell at a high price and to buy at a low price was a major objective in most bundle transfers. The buying of bundles was frequently a profitable investment, for the bundle owners received fees for the religious services they rendered to the community. Finally, some individuals bought bundles as an investment for prestige in which wealth could be displayed. [454]

175 425 432 778 The above picture of bundle transfers applies only to the latter part of the nineteenth century. Earlier, it appears that the number of bundle transfers was less frequent and the property exchanged much smaller. In a discussion of Blackfoot medicine bundles in 1833, Culbertson says, "they might be transferred but the owners were seldom willing to surrender the

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[144] *Ibid.*, p. 544.

[145] *Journal of Duncan M'Gillivray*, p. 46.

[146] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

dignity they conferred."[146a] This suggests a very different condition from the frequent buying and selling of the 1850's–1880's which is attested to by field material. Culbertson tells us that a bundle was valued at nine horses.[146b] This too, is far below the later bundle prices of thirty to sixty horses. 175 425 432 778 [435]

Judging from our more complete information of the reserve period there seems to be a direct relation between the fluidity of bundle transfers and the price of bundles on the one hand, and the number of horses. Thus, with the falling off in the number of horses on the North Piegan reserve following the depression of 1929, the bundle transfers practically came to a standstill and there was a sharp fall in the prices paid for them. 425 432 778 435

Our material therefore suggests that the greater fluidity in bundle transfers is related to the expansion in Blackfoot economy and the increase in wealth that we have already noted. We have seen that the increase in the size of herds and the growth of polygyny occurred in the eighteen thirties and thereafter. It is significant that the first mention in the literature of medicine bundles and the fact that they were sold for horses also occurs in this period (1833).[147] [178] [433]

This raises the question of the age of Blackfoot medicine bundles. When Thompson visited the Piegan in 1787 he made no mention of bundles and specifically observed that medicine bags were absent. It may be assumed that had bundles been present Thompson would have mentioned them because of their resemblance to medicine bags. The following passage from Thompson's journal gives an interesting account of medicine pipes, which were probably the precursors of the medicine pipe bundle. 175 778 175 276 778

> "The natives of the forest pride themselves on their Medicine bags, which are generally well stocked with a variety of simples which they gather from the woods and banks of the Lakes and Rivers, and with the virtues of which they are somewhat acquainted. The Indians of the Plains had none of these . . . But these people must also have something to which they can attach somewhat of a supernatural character for religious purposes; and for this purpose they have adopted the Red Pipe, and Pipe Stem, which seems to have been such from old times . . . for a medicine pipe there are certain ceremonies to be gone through and a woman is not allowed to touch a medicine pipe . . . and their long pipe stems are equally sacred. These are of three to more than four feet in length, and about three to five inches in girth and well polished. Each respectable man has from three to four of these pipes which are tied together when not in use and hung on a tree; on removing from place to place the owner slings them over his back and at the encampment again hangs them up."[148] [171] [562]

[146a] Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

[146b] *Idem.*

[147] *Idem.*

[148] Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 365–366.

175 The statement that a woman is not allowed to touch a medicine pipe
276 makes it quite clear that he is not referring to the medicine pipe bundle,
778 for in the case of the latter husband and wife were the normal ritual unit.
[562] Thompson's statement about the absence of medicine bags is significant,
for in 1833 Catlin gives a detailed description of Blackfoot otterskin medicine bags.[108]

175 While this evidence is not sufficient to determine the age of medicine
778 bundles among the Blackfoot, it at least suggests as one possibility that
the bundle complex came in between 1787 and 1833. In any case we believe
[425] that the commercialism in bundle transfers which sets the Blackfoot apart
[432] from other Plains groups developed in the period after 1830.

Changes in Warfare

177 Probably there have been no changes in any aspect of aboriginal culture
726 greater than those which have occurred in warfare. These changes were
231 brought about by the introduction of the horse, gun, and fur trade on the
northern Plains.

411 It must be pointed out here that our conclusions for the Blackfoot are at variance with those made in Smith's intensive study of Plains warfare, and suggests that the problem of the effect of the horse and gun on the Plains may profitably be re-examined. Dr. Smith writes,

> "With due consideration to their cultural importance (horse and gun) there is however, no conclusive evidence that they revolutionized war procedures. Apparently, their effect was not radically to change the existing war complexes, but to accelerate the momentum of warfare."[109]

This conclusion is based on a survey of the distribution and varieties of war honors, methods of counting coup, scalping, and motives of war on the Plains, without due regard to time perspective and diffusion. The author's "war complex" which is a static picture of nineteenth century Plains warfare, assumes a degree of stability and integration of the above elements which seems unwarranted. In view of the non-historical approach, it is not surprising that no "evidence" of vital changes was found. It is our purpose to show on the basis of the historical documents the nature of the changes in the motives, methods, and organization of Blackfoot warfare.

Early Warfare

175 In one of the most dramatic accounts in the literature, we are treated to
726 a description of a pre-horse battle between the Piegan and the Shoshone
given to David Thompson in 1787 by an old Piegan chief, Saukamappee.

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[108] Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[109] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

721 wealth in horses or the ownership of medicine bundles, would refuse to be
554 led by one of lower standing. Not only were the poor rarely leaders, but
[556] they often had difficulty in joining a raiding party, for participation was
limited to those who had the necessary equipment—a gun, powder and
ammunition, a good supply of moccasins, dried provisions, protective war
charms, and, when the party went on horse, a good horse.

721 With adequate skill, any member of the tribe could produce the equipment
necessary for the early type of warfare, but the new equipment, guns
554 and ammunition, could be purchased from the trading posts only by those
556 who had a surplus of horses, dried provisions or hides. This put the poor
184 at a distinct disadvantage, and was a check upon vertical mobility. This
[439] also gave a new paternalistic role to the chief as a distributor of valuable
goods.

721 Differences between rich and poor were reflected in their participation
in war in still another way. Not owning war bonnets, beautiful headdresses,
556 or medicine pipes, the poor went to the hills to seek supernatural
184 power for a successful war party, while those who could afford it bought
[787] their charms from renowned medicine men. Despite this handicap, informants
[778] relate that the poor were the most daring on horse-stealing parties,
● [432] for they had the least to lose and the most to gain.

Normally, raiding parties started out in the early spring, the summer
721 or the fall, rarely the winter, for the Blackfoot did not like to go out in cold
weather. A wise leader would leave at nightfall, travel until dawn, and
[242] then rest during the day in shelters constructed in the foot-hills.

The function of the leader consisted mainly in enforcing simple precautionary
721 rules, such as prohibiting a fire for cooking, or the shooting of
701 game once in enemy territory. Every party had one or two scouts who
reported to the leader. When the party neared the camp of the enemy the
leader decided who was to do the raiding. If the party was small it would
break up, every man for himself, and arrange to meet at an appointed
spot. In other cases, the leader ordered some to stay, usually the inexperienced
or the poorer ones, while the leader, alone or with a choice few,
went for the horses. This rear guard duty was resented for there was a
possibility that they would not be allowed to share the loot. The chief
[431] might present them with a horse, a gift which they were expected to
[727] acknowledge at the victory dance.[174] Many parties broke up because of this,
those ordered to remain behind often disobeying and going out for their
own horses. In cases where the party was mounted and had ambushed the
enemy, this individualism was even more marked. It was every man for
[727] himself with a great deal of snatching and bickering over the loot, even
among brothers.

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[174] J. Richardson, Mss.

scattered because of the limited food supply;[20] in summer, they "tended 621
to collect and move about, both for trade and for the hunt."[21] Band endog- 628
amy was "not good form but not criminal."[22] Residence, in general, was
patrilocal,[23] the young couple setting up their tipi alongside the groom's [221]
father's. It was not unusual, however, for a man to join his wife's band upon [582]
marriage.[24]

Equally significant in Blackfoot social organization were the men's [591]
societies[25] which had "certain names, fixed rules and laws, as well as their 575
peculiar songs and dances" and which served "in part to preserve order in
the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties."[26] As early as the 1830's, [625]
seven such "unions" were noted, their members usually joining the young- [561]
est and gradually rising higher through the others.[27] Entrance depended
upon the payment of a fee, a medicine man and persons of distinction buy- [424]
ing in at greater cost.[28] [432]

These nomads, or "equestrian natives" as Cocking called them,[29] were 182
particularly favored by circumstance. Their country was well stocked with
the buffalo upon which they depended for food, shelter, and clothing; their
early possession of the horse and the gun, and their comparative freedom
from white pressure gave ample opportunity for effective hunting and sub-
stantial profit from an expanding fur trade. This profit was measured in 435
horses. Not only did the horse become their most valued possession, but 231
among them, as elsewhere on the Northern Plains, it formed the chief
medium of exchange. Everything—trade goods, bride price, ceremonial [436]
privilege, and often personal support—was acquired by the payment of
horses. In most instances, the loss of capital was only temporary: medicine 454
bundles, pipes, and society memberships were actually investments[30] that 431
could be resold, sometimes even at a profit, and distributions to maintain
prestige were, in effect, convenient forms of credit. Expectancy is succinctly [452]
expressed in the oft-heard comment, "If a Blood gives a horse away one day,

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[21] *Idem.*

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[25] This is the term Wissler uses (See Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, Table of Contents, p. 363.)

[26] Maximilian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, *Travels in the Interior of North America in the years of 1832–1833 and 1834*, p. 255.

[27] *Idem.*

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[29] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Cf. also p. 111, for a statement on their more favorable situation.

[30] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 277. Cf. also Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.

[1877-1894]

1 556 bided his time in marriage and told his friend, Flesh Taster, that "he was
557 looking for someone suitable to him, even though she might be older."
[464] Finally he sought a vision and acquired medicine power. What money he
earned he put into horses and proceeded to validate his prestige in the traditional
[454] way. He bought bundles "with the idea of being a priest some day."
He had observed how comfortable a living "bishops" made, and he aspired
● [432] to become one. Today he earns about $300 as a Horn priest and $600 as a
[465] medicine doctor, "more when there is an epidemic."

464 But the opportunities for remunerative work were scarce and few young
men had either Many Rattles' ambition or foresight. Farming and what
556 little herding there was may have raised the subsistence level, but they
brought no substantial increase in income. The young man's position became
increasingly insecure. It was difficult to get a job, it was difficult to
get a wife, it was difficult to get a horse, and the prestige and advantage
that followed the buying of ceremonial objects was therefore denied him.
[685] To find a place in the new society he had to revert to the patterns of the
past, even when they were forbidden. The 1887–1888 report states, "War
parties [were] composed mostly of young men from 16–25 years of age . . ."[67]
These were raids upon the neighboring herds, and usually the Government
cut short a brave career with a jail sentence.

554 The chasm between rich and poor was widening. When an old medicine
556 man was asked, "Who is *istuisanaps?* Who gets respect?" he answered,
[461] "Those people who are born of rich people and maintain their riches. Also
those rich in prestige from bundles and war exploits," and finally he added,
"a rich man must have acquired his riches through earnest, honest, hard
labor."[68] For today as well as yesterday "respect" is usually phrased in
terms of war exploits and ceremonial ownership. It is therefore most revealing
that this medicine man who spent his young days bucking the concentration
of horse wealth in the first years of the reserve period, should feel
his early struggle so intensely that only secondarily does he define "respect"
in the traditional manner. His final remarks are perhaps an apology
for the "new" rich who do not buy ceremonial objects but receive covert
[178] "respect" from the group. Earnest, honest, hard labor was not rewarded in
a distant past.[69] Skill, daring, and ambition were more apt to have brought
success.

184 CHILD STATUS AND WEALTH.—Children of the rich were set apart from
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[67] 1888, Vol. 13, No. 15, p. 108. The report adds "Red Crow and the older men and chiefs strongly object to this horse stealing." In this, they followed a pattern at least as old as 1809. "The old men," reads the Journal of Henry and Thompson, p. 546, "redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order."

[68] Biele, Field Notes.

[69] Mishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 53, for a similar rephrasing.

[1877-1894]

children of the poor. At birth, the son of a rich man was placed upon an 184
otter or a weasel skin. The poor man's child had to be content with a buck- 556
skin bag. Pointed Plume was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which
large and handsome payments were made. The list is impressive: forelock [844]
of the Long Time Pipe; weasel-tail suit, a partnership in the Horn Society [432] ●
when he was only fourteen years old, and many ceremonial paintings to [852]
insure long life and prosperity. He was rarely permitted to leave his home
and was never entrusted to any white school. [857]

Ned Sloane, the son of a white father and an Indian mother who died 736
when he was born, could boast of no such honorings. Deserted by his one
remaining parent, the boy spent his childhood in the care of his Indian 184
grandmother, visiting from relative to relative. "All of them treated me
like a son," he said, but none gave him any substantial gift—not even his
famous uncle Long Tail-feathers, owner of many powers, though Ned and
his grandmother shared his home for years. At the tender age of seven, the [874]
youngster was sent to the Dunbow Industrial School, more than a hundred
miles from the reserve. In the eleven years he "studied" there, he had four
visitors.

Each member of a men's society hailed his fellow-member as *taka*, 575
a term of friendship that frequently implied a greater degree of affec-
tion and loyalty than was lavished upon a close relative. Even after the [572]
buffalo had disappeared and the hunt was a thing of the past, these societies [178]
persisted; they still remain a great force for solidarity among the Blood.
But within their membership social differences are clearly recognized. It [182]
was the rich men's sons who became the leaders because they could buy the [556]
more expensive bundles.[29]

Long before they were eligible for membership in such organizations, 857
young children were well aware of age differences. Very consciously, they
sought their playmates within a limited group. But even within this group, [561]
the children of the rich formed an inner clique which set them off as a [556]
snobbish elite and at the same time protected them from the envious as-
saults of their less fortunate comrades; not unexpectedly they chose their [184]
taka or special friend from their own social stratum. Pointed Plume says, [572]

> I had a number of boy playmates. They were *minipoka* like me. Buffalo Horn was my special comrade, but Wolf Tail and Painted Arrow were also close friends.
>
> Buffalo Horn, like me, was a *minipoka* and the only boy in the family. It was much easier to play with another *minipoka*, for when we were teased by the gang, I and Buffalo Horn could stick together. Also my family felt that Buffalo Horn was a fit companion for me. He came of a wealthy family and was a favorite son.

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[29] Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, p. 256, for the buffalo period.

were cooperating admirably in the new way of life, they had no horses to 231
exchange. And interestingly enough, at the very time cattle were being 657
issued to the rich in exchange for their horses, some of the younger men, cut 425
off from the new wealth, as they had been from the old, again "committed
depredations on the ranchers' cattle."[97] Raiding which was a necessary and [556]
legitimate road to wealth in the buffalo days, still seemed necessary in [685]
1895, but it was no longer legitimate.

From the point of view of the reserve (and those who had horses) the program was a great success.

> The first 50 head of heifers issued to the Indians last summer have done well and the Indians took great care of them all winter. The cattle were never stabled, but kept in good sheds and corrals carefully made and well sheltered in the brush, the increase for the first year being thirty head. The other Indians have shown great anxiety to get cattle and a large number have been applied for. During the present year I have traded over one hundred head of cattle to different Indians for ponies and still the supply is not equal to the demand. This owning of cattle I consider the first great step these Indians have yet taken to make themselves self-supporting, their reserve being one of the best grazing parts in Southern Alberta, and capable of feeding a great many thousands of cattle.[98]

By 1897, "profits having rapidly accrued to these few, the desire to follow their example became so great that the department could not, with the means at its disposal, meet the demands upon it."[99] In the first year, 50 heifers had been issued; in the second, 100 more; and at the end of two years, these had increased to 291 head.[100]

The first decade of the 1900's saw not only a great increase in herds, but 231
in cash income from both horses and cattle. In 1898, the Deputy General of 657
Indian Affairs had reported, "A market has sprung up in a most unexpected 434
direction, purchases of these ponies having been made for the purpose of
packing freight through the Klondike."[101] This market continued, and in
1902 we read, "A great demand has sprung up for Indian ponies and I am [432] ●
pleased to see the Indians taking advantage of this and selling. Over 400
head must have been sold during the season."[102] That same year the
slaughtered cattle netted their owners $4180.[103]

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[97] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[99] 1897, Vol. 11, No. 14, p. xxi.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[101] 1898, Vol. 11, No. 14, p. xxi.
[102] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, Pt. 1, p. 133.
[103] *Idem.*

556 this was as nothing compared with a Pointed Plume's equipment. "When I
184 was married in 1905," said he, "my father turned over his whole herd of
425 horses (about 100) to me. A few others had been given to me previously as
gifts. My father told me that if I took care of the cattle I would get my
share, and in 1916, he gave me twenty-five head . . . the next year my
father gave me another twenty-five." It is not surprising that this favorite
son was reluctant to leave his rich father and a secure and indulgent home
for a few dollars in wages.

556 All in all, it was still the owners of the large herds who benefited most
184 from the growing cash income. They plowed back a considerable portion
[454] of it into better homes, better barns, better furnishings and better
fences, as the Government urged them to do. Yet a goodly amount of cash
was still available to them. This the inspector reported was "squandered in
[432] riotous living." Schooled in the old Blackfoot tradition of "generosity,"
[181] these Indians felt that added prestige could only accrue from conspicuous
spending. The same group that had made fine payments for pipes, bundles,
and memberships with their surplus horses, were now able to stage bigger
and better feasts and give away valuable goods, such as cloth, blankets,
shawls, in quantities unknown for many years.

431 Gifts flowed freely, but the circle within which they flowed remained, as
556 before, narrow and selected. The rich gave to the rich, to their close relatives,
184 or to those to whom they were under obligation for some past favor.
[585] For example: Yellow Wolf chose his son's best friend, the *minipoka*, Buffalo
Horn, to be the husband of his brother's daughter. Pointed Plume said,
"At the time of the marriage, I gave Buffalo Horn his weasel tail suit and a
bonnet for a present." And then he added, "Later Buffalo Horn gave me a
similar outfit." To the goodly gift of ten horses contributed to the bride
price by his brother, Yellow Wolf added another five. All went to the rich
father of Buffalo Horn. When Pointed Plume married the favorite daughter
of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighter's Band, Yellow Wolf
[764] gave the already wealthy leader twenty-five horses. At a funeral feast
given for Round Chief by his adopted son, Big Head and his nephew,
Pointed Plume, the latter gave away two horses—one to Black Bear, his
maternal uncle whom his father Yellow Wolf had superseded for the chieftaincy,
the other to Split Arrow, the father of Dancing Bird who was his
[575] wife at this time. He said, "When Round Chief joined the Horn Society,
he took me in as his partner. I was about fourteen at the time. This shows
how close we were." It also shows why he participated so actively in the
death feast.

431 Ned Sloane paid three horses as a bride price to his father-in-law, Charging
556 Buffalo, who distributed them as follows: one horse was given to
585 Charging Buffalo's brother-in-law who had previously made a gift of a
425

575 their husbands; (3) each prospective buyer has a partner (formerly these
554 were bachelors, often not more than boys, whose families were willing and
[754] able to "see them through"); (4) members of the Horn are the most feared
[837] group among the Blood (those who buy the "painted root"[162] can sorcerize,
but even the lesser members, it is believed, have power "so great that to
[577] wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed for realization"[163]); (5) adultery,
a great tension point in the culture, is sanctioned in the Horns (individual sorcery power can only be acquired after the seller has had ceremonial intercourse with the buyer's wife); (6) jealousy is proscribed (self-control for the Blood is difficult at best, but its achievement by members of the Horn brings great social approval); (7) the Horns are now the oldest ranking society. Those who have been through it can go no further, but many can and do rejoin it.

Of the 130 who have been members at some time,

61 have bought in once
33 have bought in twice
22 have bought in three times
11 have bought in four times
1 has bought in six times
2 have bought in eight times.

575 Despite Catholic injunctions against joining the Horns (because of the
424 ceremonially sanctioned adultery), and despite the lack of interest on the
[798] part of those without horses, the demand for Horn bundles seems to be
greater than the supply. While others find no bidders or are falling in value
[837] (the Long Time Pipe which sold for a hundred and for fifty horses at an
[435] earlier time, sold for twenty in 1939), the leader's lance of the Horn Society
that same year brought fourteen horses and much goods, the approximate cost.[164] Wissler quoting a Piegan's statement made shortly after 1910 writes:

> 575 Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his
> 424 marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid
> a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a
> 432 cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and purchased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he

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[824] [162] *Ibid.*, p. 413. Wissler calls this prairie-turnip.

[163] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[164] Harry D. Biele notes that twenty-two horses were promised but that considerably fewer were delivered.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a 575
gun, a saddle, and many blankets.[185] 424

Ordinary memberships in the Horn today bring no less. Many bring con- [432]
siderably more. The society's transfer ceremony was the most spectacular [796]
event at the Sun Dance.

Dance Societies[186]

A number of these associations still flourish on the reserve. Their mem- 575
bership problems are not formidable since their purpose is social and their 535
fees nominal, mostly contributions of food at the time of the dance.

The Women's Society[187]

The *Matoki*, as the Women's Society is called, raised their lodge at the 575
Sun Dance and, assisted by six men—four singers and two messengers—cli- [796]
maxed a four-day ceremony by imitating buffalo driven into the park. In
1939, fifteen women participated, all of them well beyond their prime. The [424]
leader's pole which, according to Mr. Duvall, cost "twelve horses and an
appropriate amount of other property" has not changed hands for forty [435]
years, although "like the horns and other societies the members sell, or [425]
transfer, to others usually . . . at the same time."[188]

The Sun Lodge

With the exception of three years, the Sun Lodge has been raised annually 796
since 1910, sixteen women vowing it, sometimes two of them jointly:[189]

1 woman vowed the Sun Lodge but did not put it up
10 women put up the Sun Lodge once (one year two jointly)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge twice
2 women put up the Sun Lodge three times (one, once with a woman who raised it five times)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge four times
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge five times (four times since 1929 alone and once with one of the women who raised it three times)

The demand for chastity before marriage and fidelity after may have 836
eliminated a goodly number, but one informant felt sure that that was not 554
796
837
[184]

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[185] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 426 ff.

[186] *Ibid.*, p. 451 ff.

[187] *Ibid.*, p. 430 ff.

[188] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 432.

[189] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes. For a full discussion of the Sun Dance and the building of the Sun Lodge, see Wissler, *The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 220-270.

The turnover in these important pipes and bundles is not great and prices 778
fluctuate considerably.[173] The man who has paid a large number of horses 432
is frequently loathe to relinquish his bundle for fewer animals. It was many
years before the last buyer to pay a hundred horses for the Long Time Pipe 435
was ready to let it go for fifty. The woman who bought the *natoas* bundle
in 1929 put up ten horses, one heifer, a set of harness and a saddle. In 1939,
she still owned the bundle.[174]

The initial expense, however, is but a small part of the total cost. Further ritual knowledge enhances the value of the bundle, but while this may bring a good return in the future, it must be paid for in the present. Moreover, the owners of certain bundles are expected to open them and feast all previous owners sometimes as often as once a month. For some these additional obligations are too onerous. All four owners of beaver bundles participate in the general ceremony, but only one possesses the knowledge necessary to conduct it. His bundle is considered the most powerful.[175]

All bundle owners are members of societies, but five, each of whom had 575
purchased only one bundle, did not join the Horns. Pressure from the 778
Church, the loss of horses, or the complete acceptance of white goals may [177]
account for this unusual behavior. Whatever the reasons for these particular
lapses, it is also an interesting fact and an index of changing values that the [798]
sons of bundle owners and society members have not always followed in [178]
their fathers' footsteps. They have not always joined societies or purchased
ceremonial objects.

Those who buy ceremonial privilege consider the gain against the cost. 787
When Harvey Fleet Foot, a young and ambitious farmer, was at "death's 778
door" shortly after the serious illness of his small son, he dreamed that he
should vow a pipe. Only then would he and his family be protected from 432
further harm. Since no special pipe was mentioned in the dream, he sought 782
advice from an old medicine man and Horn priest, his father's brother, and [751]
from his father-in-law, a substantial cattle and horse owner and farmer.
The two old men agreed to back Harvey, "if he followed the voices of the [756]
spirit." They decided that he should vow the Long Time Pipe. Said the
medicine man, "As long as you can pay for it, you might as well vow the
strongest pipe." And Harvey Fleet Foot, aided by his rich father-in-law, [435]
bought the Long Time Pipe for twenty horses and other goods.

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[173] Bradley (*Characteristics*, p. 265), writing before 1877, comments, "In value [175]
they were computed at about nine horses." Lewis (*Effects of White Contact*, p. 44 ff.), basing his conclusions on Major Culbertson believes that before 1850 "the number of bundle transfers was less frequent and the property exchanged much smaller." Wissler (*Blackfoot Bundles*, p. 277) writes: ". . .whereas. . .medicine pipes formerly required but two or three horses, they now often go to thirty head."

[174] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[175] *Ibid.*

joke with your brother's, it means you are in earnest." The only Blood 593
confined to the insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical 578
causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having 152
intercourse with a ghost. Many a husband, approaching his end, threatens 831
his mate with death, for only when she accompanies him on his final journey [572]
can he be sure that in the next world he alone will possess her.

Husbands, who need proof of good behavior and who can afford to pay [158]
for it, may insist that their wives "vow the tongues"[180] or put up the Sun [775]
Lodge, for only those who are chaste before and faithful after marriage can 593
do so with impunity. Sometimes, however, the pressure may be so great, 796
that a woman must take a chance. Urged by her husband who remained un- 783
convinced concerning her virginity at marriage, Weasel Girl distributed the 626
tongues at the Sun Dance. Her husband's uncle, noting that she failed to 784
mention the names of any men she had rebuffed, suspected her avowal, and [837]
threw his piece of meat to a dog at his side. Later that evening, this dog
was shot while making off with a chicken. His alertness and caution had [836]
saved him, the uncle was certain, from a sure and untimely death. That
Weasel Girl, herself, only lived three years longer was further evidence that
she had lied.

Suspicion is not always without cause, as it may well have been in this 837
instance. The most casual encounter, the social dances in the dance hall,
even the Sun Dance, offer innumerable opportunities for illicit adventures,
and these are not missed. Many a husband has found his wife with her lover.
But so obsessed are they by their suspicions, that every possibility of [152]
adultery immediately becomes a fact.

Informal wife-lending among the Blood is inconceivable whether to a 432
casual friend[181] or a life-long "*taka*." Yet this act which cannot be tolerated 778
in daily living, is ritually sanctioned when the sorcery roots are purchased 786
by members in the Horn Society.[182] At this time, the wife of the buyer
deposits her clothes in her husband's lap. Protected by a buffalo robe, she 575
is taken to the tipi of the seller and ceremonially painted. She then "goes 754
837

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[180] Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, p. 234 ff.

[181] Henry in his Journal (vol. 2, p. 526) states that the Blackfoot were a "nuisance in offering women." Wissler (*Social Life*, p. 10) observes that he believes these women were captives.

[182] Among the neighboring Cree the opposite situation existed. They practised 171
informal wife exchange. D. G. Mandelbaum (*The Plains Cree*, p. 246) writes: "This 837
relationship reflected considerable honor upon the participants, for only the most stout-hearted men could become intimate companions of their wives' paramours." But in a ceremony called Sitting Up Until Morning (*ibid.*, p. 226) although the "warriors of one society issued invitations to the wives or daughters of the members of other societies" and "at dawn, the men washed and painted the women's faces,

432 on the sacred walk."[193] Returning, she gives the sinister root which she has
778 received from her nocturnal partner to her uneasy husband.

786 The interval of waiting is among the greatest trials of the Blood. The
575 anxious husband must show no jealousy during the "walk"; he must joke
754 with his fellow members and suffer their teasing without taking offense. So
837 great is this strain that some are unable to bring themselves to the test;
others hire a substitute wife, although the added cost may be considerable.

754 The Blood are not overly engrossed with sorcery, perhaps because black
181 magic may act as a boomerang, perhaps because hostility is quickly and
154 overtly expressed, perhaps because their way of life brought numerous and
[837] tangible rewards. But some standard of values is suggested by the fact that
the greatest power to hurt others is acquired by submitting to what they believe entails the greatest personal suffering—the possession of one's wife by another. Its institutionalization in the Horn Society in no way relaxes the sexual tensions among the people at large; it merely succeeds in heightening them for the few who want to purchase the most feared power available to the Blood.

831 Writing on the relations between Blackfoot men and women, Wissler
171 observes, "We found no traces of the conventional modes of registering
554 conquests as among the young men of the Dakota and Village Indians."[194]
154 Victims of a monotonous poverty, these more easterly tribesmen readily
transferred a symbol from their glamorous past to the one remaining area of competition, sex. The counting of coups over amorous successes may well have seemed unnecessary, and even ridiculous, to the more exuberant Blood whose daily routines gave them many other ego satisfactions.

593 MARITAL INSTABILITY.—Psychopathic possessiveness and aggressive
837 behavior, however, offer a poor foundation for a satisfactory or enduring
581 marriage. In 1909, a worried agent, after discussing the difficulties arising
from drink, observed, "The morality question is at present a more serious one on this reservation, the transgressors very principally young married people who, after quarrelling separate and insist upon availing themselves of the old tribal right to take other partners."[195] The instability of early marriage can be easily documented. A Dancing Bird, beautiful if undiscriminating, consoled ten "husbands"; a wilful Mary Red Bear boasted

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[171] combed their hair, and gave them a gift. . .no sexual license is permitted during this occasion."

[837] The attitudes and values of the two tribes are nicely revealed in the following incident from a tale: A Blackfoot visiting a Cree makes him a present of a horse. In return, the Cree offers him his wife.

[193] Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 413 ff. Also Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[194] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 9.

[195] 1909, Vol. 43, No. 15, p. 169.

667 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt
to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[778] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these
[575] activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community
[575] respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the
meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[577] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower,
she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all
was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general
social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest
treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also
the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cultural
562 rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and mo'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband
the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmentionable
[432] event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus
581 through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
obtain the rewards of the culture.
582

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight,
if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities
607 has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful
relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

a veritable epidemic of society dances and ceremonials sprang up, 535
attended by all who could pay the price. Those who knew the songs
and rituals suddenly stepped into the limelight, even though they 796
may have had but few war deeds to their credit. Here was a new 555
opportunity to be known, to stand out before all others and to
espouse the Indian way of life. Men resolved to join every society
and to own every medicine bundle. Then in a smoking ceremony
where each could display his ritual accomplishments, even the
young who had never seen an enemy camp could compete on equal
grounds with the taunts of the old. In terms of property and sacred
regalia they might even make these old warriors shy before them.

As a result medicine bundles and society regalia were furiously 575
bought and sold. Each new buyer, showing his generosity by paying 778
more than the previous owner, ridiculed his society enemies for
stinginess. Prices for membership in the Horn society soared from [432]
a gun and blanket before treaty to a horse, and from one horse to [435]
several horses. These prices reflect the favourable conditions for
horse-breeding. In five years the number of horses on the reserve 231
doubled, from 540 in 1885 to 1,085 in 1890, according to the agency
estimates. In the years around 1900 there were nearly 3,000 horses, [435]
and it was not unknown to pay sixty horses for a Medicine Pipe.

Officialdom looked askance upon these activities, for this care- 657
free circus took time away from gardening and prolonged unneces-
sarily the process of making the Blackfoot self-sufficient. At first 177
the great problems for the agents were in keeping the Indians on
the reserve, preventing horse-stealing, and attempting to interest
them in the care of their houses and gardens. Then the Sun Dance 796
with its misunderstood torture ceremony became an irritation. Some
whites conceived the chief object of the Sun Dance to be the fur- 785
nishing of a sadistic spectacle to the Indians, who were imagined 177
to smack their lips in delight as the young men tore the skewers 657
from their flesh.[1] As soon as this phase of the ceremony could be
abolished, the Sun Dance would disappear, they believed, for the

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[1] The Sun Dance was an annual ceremony intended to ensure the people against disaster. The central rites, led by a woman, lasted only four days, but many other events also occurred during this season. Since this was the one time of the year when the entire tribe camped together, it was an occasion for joyful renewing of acquaintance, exchanging property, and feasting bosom companions. Among such varied activities, the torture ceremony was a relatively minor event participated in by a few. These were mainly warriors on a raid who, in peril of their lives, had sought the aid of the sun, vowing that, if they returned safely, they would give flesh in return. If they escaped successfully, these men were obliged to fulfil their side of the contract. In the ceremony skewers were driven through the muscles of the chest and back to be torn loose by the participant in a dance.

231 new calves. Under individual care most of the herds multiplied, and the agent felt satisfied with his experiment. More Indians applied when free cattle were given out in the next few years. On receiving $50 to $100 for the sale of a prime steer to the ration house they felt compensated for their past fortitude. Wheatley saw additional signs of progress:

> 511 Calf Bull, Bear Robe and Medicine Shield have purchased teams of heavier horses, paying from $60 to $100 a team for them. In their houses the improvement is very perceptible by the number of bedsteads, chairs, good stoves, lamps, clocks and household utensils in use.[1]

Even in the west end of the reserve where the opposition was most severe, a few gave evidence of progress:

> . . . Little Axe, who, I may say, has set an example to all the other Indians, has a band of forty head of cattle, a good house with shingle roof, well furnished, an ice house, a milk house and a pig-sty.[2]

231 In 1900 there were nearly 600 cattle on the reserve, and the first bitter opposition was gradually being worn down by the obvious success of a few.

465 During the nineties we hear more and more of working for wages.
Alexander McGibbon, inspector of agencies, observed with satis-
464 faction in 1891 that four Indians were mowing hay at $2.50 plus
partial board per week. Wages were paid to the gang who went into
the Rockies to cut logs for houses on the reserve, to the men who
dug the irrigation ditch for the gardens of the North Camp, to the
teamsters who beat their oxen all the way to High River with coal
for the Roman Catholic school. As whites came into the region,
more and more young men hired out individually to farmers and
ranchers, getting 75 cents a day for binding and 50 cents for thresh-
ing. Others remained all summer to help break horses, round up the
432 cattle, and stack the hay. Cash also came from the sale of skin
coats and moccasins.

The old bands had subdivided into smaller groups that were of
361 a more suitable size for carrying on gardening activities. The new
ways of earning a living broke these units down still more. The
621 original band organization was a suitable social structure for a col-
[178] lective nomadic life but not one likely to flourish under sedentary
[182] conditions where individual accumulation is rewarded. The early
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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1898, p. 124.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

CHAPTER TWO

The Sale of the Land

IN JUNE, 1910, a meeting was called of all members of the Black- 648 foot reserve to vote on surrendering a portion of the reserve. For nearly two years the council of chiefs had been paving the way for 432 this referendum, debating the terms of surrender. The area in question lay on the south side of the Bow River beyond an irrigation canal constructed a few years previously by the Canadian Pacific Irrigation Colonization Company. After many speeches the tribe's vote was taken. The majority agreed to relinquish nearly half of the reserve.

A. J. Markle, reporting the meeting in his annual statement as Inspector of Reserves for Alberta, summarized the terms of the agreement:

> During the month of June last the Indians surrendered about 125,000 acres of their reserve. This area has since been sub-divided and action taken to place it on the market for sale at public auction on the 14th of next month (June, 1911). The Indians agreed to the surrender referred to on the condition that $400,000 434 of the proceeds of the sale is to be expended for their use and benefit, and the remainder of the proceeds of sale is to be funded and the interest accruing thereon also to be expended for their benefit and for the advantage of their successors. The outcome of this deal will be, I think, that these Indians and their successors will soon have a sufficient income of their own to meet all their wants and that they will then be no longer any expense on the government outside of what was guaranteed to them by the treaty, i.e. a cash annual annuity of $5 per head.[1]

As stated by Markle, an auction was held in June, 1911, at which 432 60,771 acres of land were sold, realizing a total of $941,872.25 for the Blackfoot. This constitutes an average price of $15.50 per acre. [434] Only small bits of the unsold land were disposed of during the next few years, the largest sale being a few hundred acres as right-of-way for a new irrigation canal. Then in June, 1917, the remainder of the unsold land was again offered at auction. At this time 55,327 acres [434]

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1911, p. 187.

432 were sold, realizing $1,276,190.92 or roughly $23 per acre. The re-
434 maining odd pieces of surrendered land were rented or leased to
expand still further the Blackfoot trust fund. The management of
657 these funds was assumed by the Department of Indian Affairs,
annual sums, representing interest on the capital, being sent to the
agent for maintenance and improvement of the reserve.

432 Several factors can be traced leading to this decision to sell the land. Among them are: (1) the land policy of the Department of Indian Affairs; (2) white settlement under the Canadian Pacific Railway's land development scheme; (3) the personality and activities of Markle, Indian Inspector for Southern Alberta; (4) the reserve conditions leading to the Indians' approval of the surrender.

648 Surrender and sale of land on Indian reserves was not a new thing for the Department of Indian Affairs. In all treaties of recent date the Indians had agreed to abide by Her Majesty's laws, which, of course, included future as well as existing laws. The specific laws governing Indians were not issues at the signing of most treaties, but all soon heard of the Indian Act. In this collection of statutes governing the treatment of Indians, provision for the surrender of Indian lands was made in Section 51, where surrender occurs by the consent of a majority of the adult males living on a reserve. Every annual report of the Department mentions the sale of some Indian land, from a few hundred acres to several thousand. For example, James A. Smart, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, reported in 1897 the sale of 14,541 acres of land from various Canadian reserves, realizing roughly 87 cents an acre. Where land was valuable, for instance, adjoining a sizable village, or with mineral resources, the Department encouraged Indian inhabitants to part with it and move to new reserves. Despite continuous sale of these land fragments, it was scarcely an avowed policy to liquidate reserves, as was the practice at this time in the United States. It was rather a minor friendly accommodation to white settlers. There was no aim of bettering the status of the Indian population from the receipts of the sales. Usually the sums were too trifling to be of any great benefit, and they were divided among the tribe or invested in some permanent manner such as a school.

With growing white population in the West there was a corresponding increase in pressure to acquire reserve lands, so that in 1908, for example, 40,163 acres were surrendered, realizing a total of $167,770.88 or roughly an average of $4.18 per acre. Such in-

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

657 agriculture on a major scale to be possible even without irrigation. But it was expensive, required equipment, large machinery, and competent instructors. David Laird, then Indian Commissioner, in his report for 1908 attempted to justify the introduction of agriculture to the critics of his spending policies:

> While the expenditure upon Indians has reached a large figure, it is to be remembered that it is based upon the principle of spending in the present for the purpose of making the Indian ultimately self-supporting, instead of spending for the mere purpose of feeding him for an indefinite time. In the distinctly agricultural agencies the ration house, as it once existed, is practically a thing of the past, and all but the old and infirm may now be classed as self-supporters, some gaining their livelihood in the main by mixed farming, and those who have not yet taken to agriculture, through different forms of labour performed for hire. In the distinctively cattle-raising reserves the reducing of free rations continues. . .[1]

[241] If it had not already occurred to him, this may have given
Markle the idea. Still avid for making the Blackfoot self-supporting,
he quickly accepted agriculture as a necessary prop to his plan.
But agriculture was expensive, and the Department could not afford
to give more in developing these new projects, since they had already
657 complained about expenditures. Surely Markle read the statement
432 of 1908, where Pedley said that sale of land would be welcomed
where it was useless to the Indians and might be sold profitably, and
where the proceeds could be used for the benefit of the Indians.[2]
Thus the cost of agriculture could be defrayed by selling a portion
of the coveted reserve land. This would, indeed, implement the self-support campaign.

657 Despite the presence of a seasoned new agent, J. H. Gooderham,
who had come from the Piegan reserve in 1908 and who was well
able to handle affairs by himself, Markle visited and revisited the
reserve, nourishing his programme. Gooderham carefully refrained
from interfering and avoided all reference in his reports to self-
657 support. When the day of surrender finally came, Markle considered
241 his job still unfinished and himself directed the introduction of
agriculture and the relocation of Indians on farms. Three years
later he was still personally supervising the activity, for he wrote
in his report for 1913:

> I spent a good deal of time during the first half of the year in starting to carry out the conditions contained in a surrender of land made by the Blackfoot in

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1908, p. 194.
[2] Cf. p. 37.

These are in part reversions to former means of satisfying needs, 511
i.e., gardening and hunting, forms of support found during the eighties after moving on to the reserve for the first time.

The picture of white settlers may also have acted as an incentive 177
to surrender land. No Indian who rode the country turnpike and worked a few days at white farms could fail to see the relative advantages of white existence. The Blackfoot may not have known that these farmers were frequently gambling weather conditions against a considerable sum of money owed the railway company for their ready-made farms and that it was a tight squeeze to make these payments. However, in material goods the comparison was obvious. The whites had good clothing, well-furnished houses, barns with good horses and wagons. On Saturday they returned from the store in town, their buggies brimming with groceries. These whites 241
were growing wheat, and when it was stated that the Indians too
could grow wheat, if they sold the land, these tangible rewards [432]
seemed accessible for the first time.

Further vigour was given to this argument by reports from visitors to other reserves. The Blood Indians had ploughed their land and had been raising wheat since 1908, the North Piegans even earlier. One could readily see the wealth of these Indians. Besides, [177]
even the Crees, long despised by the Blackfoot, were farming and would soon be better off than their old enemy.

The realization that there was a case for farming is shown by a 241
reported conversation between a chief and Markle:

> Once, before he was made a chief, the informant went to the Crees and Bloods 657
> and saw their farms. So he asked Mr. Markle if they couldn't have farms too. 432
> Markle: "You haven't enough money to farm with. The Crees sold land; Bloods sold longhorn cattle for money to start farms." Informant: "Then we'd better sell that land on the other side of the river for money to start farms." Markle: "You can't make that decision yourself. Consult the people and chiefs in a meeting, and see if they want to."

A frequently cited point of view emphasized the desirability of 657
constant rations. Their curtailment was not a new thing, for in the past this device had been used as a means of enforcing conformity to the dicta of the agent. Markle in 1903 describes such an event during his incumbency as agent:

> It may be remembered that, in my last report, I expressed thankfulness that 657
> there had been no plural marriages during the preceding year. That report was 595

> 657 595 barely out of my hand when I learned that three members of the band were dissatisfied with one wife each and had taken another. I immediately directed that the rations of these families be withheld until such time as they saw fit to obey the rules in this respect. One family missed one ration, and then decided that it was better policy to abide by the rules. The other two families held out for several rations, and then they succumbed and put away wife No. 2. The rationing of able-bodied men and women had many objectionable features to me, but I must confess that, in these three instances, it gave a leverage to settle an objectionable custom, for the time being at least.[1]

657 657 432 It was hence natural that when the Indians suffered in 1908 a repetition of the withdrawal of rations, they should search for the agent's objective. To compel the surrender of the land was the objective that many ascribed. Under such circumstances, with poverty increasing and the stocks of food diminishing, only one answer came to them—to sell the land if that would mean getting rations. One informant expressed a typical view:

> The rations were cut. That is why Yellow Horse pitied the people. People thought that this was done to make them give up the land. They knew that as long as the land were not sold the rations would be cut off. At first there were more who did not want to sell and thought they could get rations anyway. Later, people for and against selling the land were about even.

432 829 For two years at the bi-monthly meetings of the council the plan to sell the land was continuously brought up by its advocates. This group of persons, led by Yellow Horse, had been successful under white economy. They looked to the future, "We have to sell this land in order to get rations and so that the young people can grow up healthy. They have been dying. You ought to think of the younger people. We cannot stay as we are now. We shall be more like whites, and life will be easier." The opposition was led by dauntless old warrior chiefs such as Eagle Calf and Iron Shield, brother of Crowfoot. They had seen the Indians tricked by the original treaty of 1877 into giving up their land. They would be tricked no more; what they now had they would cling to. Those who wished to sell the land were both the dupes of the whites and underminers of Indian existence, they said.

Persistently, Yellow Horse continued his efforts. The meetings were violent name-calling affairs. Both sides accused the other of seeking profit. Yellow Horse was "crazy; he wanted to be head chief but was too lazy when he was young to go to war to get horses." Eagle Calf was "a wealthy man and so could afford to neglect the

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1903, p. 147 ff.

welfare of the poor; he was well fed. He thought only of his own 432
stomach." Words were acrimonious, tempers lost, the meeting-hall 829
a din of angry remarks.

The final meeting in 1910 in which the pro-selling group won may best be described in the words of a participant:

> They had a huge meeting at the old office. Before they had this meeting, Markle sent word to me to dress up fine and get a nice democrat and team "lest those who hate you have reason to criticize you." So I dressed up magnificently, new
> team, harness and democrat. All the people had their eyes on me. I also had [302]
> the war birds on and my face painted as if going to war because Indians were
> going to say bad words against me, and this attire was to save my life. Once [787]
> I had dreamed of a moon-shaped piece of mother-of-pearl. This I had around
> my neck to make me strong, so I could stand up against the chiefs, for I knew [301]
> they were going to have strong talk and bad words. I wanted to give myself
> strength and protection.
>
> Markle told people to sign, not talk. "Don't stand up and say your opinions. Just write your names, who is on the farm side. He [informant] is the only one who is to stand up and talk." Two clergymen, one lawyer, the agent, two clerks, and also two other white men were there as witnesses. They put up a chair for me, and Markle said, "Stand up and speak."
>
> I said: "You remember at treaty in 1877, Weasel Calf was as if blinded and had no idea how much an acre was. For myself, I am not a war-coups chief, but we are becoming white and shall farm. We must know how much we get for an acre, not like at treaty time, when we never did know how much we got. Those chiefs were blinded. When we sell land, we make money. If we don't we just live on our horses, and selling horses will exhaust our income. Selling land means we shall have farm land and money and will live good. We cannot just live on the mines, for only a little comes in to a few people. Selling half the reserve means we can live on the money. We are not selling all of it. Part will be leased to whites, and that will bring money." Then, turning to Markle: "Markle, this is the last piece of land we sell as long as I live. This is the end. If any unsold land is needed, we shall lease it to whites instead of selling it." At the end of this speech, every one signed. Two clerks took it down. Each chief had to sign his own name. There were two papers, one with the ayes and the other with the nays. All clapped hands when word was announced who had won. All whites shook hands with me because I was the only one who stood up and talked. Handkerchiefs and tobacco were handed out to the women.

This was a significant day for the Blackfoot. As they drove their 511
teams back to the log shacks along the river they did not know that they were to become the wealthiest Indians in Canada. After thirty years of marginal existence on a reserve, basic economic security was no longer to be a major concern for them. The days of potato-patch nourishment and government-given apparel were over; an agricultural life with new problems faced the tribe.

THE RETURNS FOR THE LAND

432 The provisions of the agreement stated that the Indians were
to surrender about 115,000 acres lying principally on the south side
of the Bow River; this land constituted nearly half of the reserve.
Upon surrender, it became the obligation of the Superintendent
General of Indian Affairs to dispose of the land in the way that
651 would be most beneficial to the tribe. The agreement guaranteed to
the Indians a minimum return from their lands of $1,800,000, though
there was no time limit for accumulating this sum.

The handling of the proceeds from the sale fell under two headings.
First, a sum of $400,000 was to be made immediately available
to the Indians for capitalization of agriculture. Of this sum, $350,000
went for the construction of houses, barns, and sheds on the land to
be farmed; the houses were to be furnished with stoves, tables, chairs,
beds, and bedding; wells were to be dug; fences erected; roads
graded; motor ploughs, harvesting engines, and other expensive
equipment were to be bought; and granaries for storing the produce
426 were to be built. The remaining $50,000 constituted a loan fund
from which farmers might draw for financing the purchase of individual
equipment such as mowers and binders. The loan was to be
repaid in six years and the money returned to the fund for future
loans.

651 Second, the sum remaining from the first auction and sums from
subsequent sales were to be set aside as a trust fund. Like other
[657] monies belonging to Indian groups, this fund was to be managed
by the Department of Indian Affairs. The Blackfoot tribe was to
receive annual interest on it, the rate of interest and the method of
utilizing the money being subject to the discretion of the Superintendent
General of Indian Affairs acting under the direction of the
Governor-General of Canada. The Blackfoot have received 5 per
cent on their deposited capital.[1]

652 The immediate use of the interest money had been planned by
657 Markle in collaboration with various other administrators. Over and
above the building and ploughing programme which was already
provided for, expenditures were to be for four main purposes: (1)
wages for the operators of heavy farm machinery; (2) wages for an
instructor to teach and supervise farming; (3) the purchase of
blankets, yard goods, and clothing for the aged; (4) rations for each

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[1] All other Canadian Indians also get 5 per cent on their money, except the Six Nations, who receive 6 per cent.

to the agency to withdraw money from his account and be denied 657 his full request by a paymaster who is interested in thrift. Complaints are common that there is money in the office, but it cannot 454 be paid out until a future date. Our interpreters and informants frequently spent the day's earnings within a few minutes after payment had been made. But some Indians who worked for prolonged periods with us asked that they be paid in a lump sum at the end of the week to prevent their spending the fees immediately.

Accentuating the demand for cash is the fact that few Indians 443 can buy at village stores on credit. Merchants maintain that they have in the past been forced to write hundreds of dollars of debts off their books because of the failure of Indians to pay their bills. Thus credit is issued only to the occasional Indian who has proved himself. Furthermore, whites generally acknowledge that two prices 435 exist in many stores, one for whites and a slightly higher one for Indians. The practice is justified on the grounds that the storekeeper is recouping his previous losses.

The agency's interest in budgetary saving aggravates the demand 657 for money. Less is paid for beef if it is bought on the reserve for rations than if purchased from commercial beef handlers. Horses 435 and hay are purchased from the Indians at figures somewhat below the prevailing white prices. We have also mentioned that the wage scale on the reserve is lower than the wage scale for white labour. To be sure there are a few cases where the agency pays higher prices than the prevailing rate; it is possible, for example, to have coal hauled by truck to the agency at $1.50 per ton, yet the agent pays Indians $2.00 per ton to haul it in their wagons. In general, however, the agency pays less when dealing with Indians than when dealing with whites for the same service or commodity.

To obtain money at times of need Indians resort to two main 434 expedients: sale of various articles, and seeking cash from certain relatives.

We have entered occasional Indian homes which have lacked 511 almost all furnishings except for a bed, a few chairs, a table, and a stove. Only some of these houses belong to old people who wish little. Frequently ambitious young men have a history of poor luck 434 in farming and report that their houses were once much better furnished; when times were hard, they were forced to sell their furniture 432 piece by piece to get cash. The less valuable objects may be purchased by some family on the reserve. The remainder is sold to pawn

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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434 shops and second-hand stores. One of our interpreters sold a radio
432 to a neighbour to obtain money for gifts at the Sun Dance. The
Sun Dance vower's house, when visited before the Sun Dance, was
[437] adequately furnished, but afterwards it was nearly empty. Fortunately,
it was not necessary to convert all of the furniture into cash;
some pieces were directly converted into services at the ceremony.

434 A second and more frequent means of obtaining money is by
soliciting one of those kinsmen who is socially obligated to mutual
431 sharing. This expedient is of limited usefulness in acquiring cash,
602 although almost any relative will share food and some clothing.
[593] These reciprocal obligations apply particularly to brothers, brothers-in-law,
and age mates. However, if the borrower is poor and the
[607] loaner wealthy, repayment is not expected. Control over asking too
[561] frequently for assistance is the Blackfoot emphasis on the virtue of
[558] giving rather than receiving. Just as a middle-class white, failing
to return his social invitations, would find himself ignored, so Blackfoot
failure to reciprocate gifts means loss of prestige; and gifts,
like white parties, are most frequent among equals in status.

435 As a result of all this scarcity, currency has increased in value.
At ceremonies a dollar in currency is considered the equivalent of a
436 blanket worth several times that amount in a local store. As previously
mentioned, only one Blackfoot farmer pays regular cash
wages to his employees, the remainder making only occasional and
124 irregular payments. Part of the willingness of Indians to act as
informants may be attributed to the desire for cash.

437 Two systems of transaction result from the scarcity of money. Cash is used mainly for transactions with whites and seldom passes from one Blackfoot to another. Within the reserve, however, all transferable property circulates; horses, articles of furniture, clothing, and bedding move about fairly freely on the reserve and to Indians of neighbouring reserves as well. This is a continuation and extension of the pre-reserve economy, for which there were many possible means of distribution. There is little development of production to satisfy the demands of this internal economy. Alone of Blackfoot products horses are of value here, but the horse raisers tend to prefer to change horses into cash rather than into sacred objects or other items of intra-reserve value.

438 As we shall see more clearly in our study of distribution, the flow
431 of chattels through the reserve is not a lively one. The most valuable
assets that a man has come from the agency via trust funds and are
[425] non-transferable. Thus it is usually the smaller and less valuable
[439]

ing by rising in their seats. At this, the whole organization including the 561
leaders rises and dances. 575

Another informant says that during the dance all the pigeons dance 796
around in a circle the two leaders facing them. When the leaders turn and 535
dance with their backs toward the main body, this is a signal for the dance to end. Then they dance toward their seats and when the leaders sit down, they follow suit.

The society has three songs, one in which everyone joins, beating time [533]
on their bows with their arrows and the drummers on the edges of the drums with their sticks. The other two songs are dance songs.

When they sit in their places and sing, the pigeons beat time by striking arrows on their bows. At the proper moment all, except the bear shirts, rise and dance in a circle, each with a drawn bow, the arrow pointed downward. The four yellow pigeons dance in the center and as the ring of dancers threatens to close in, they threaten them and pretend to drive them back to their seats. Then after an interval of singing the two bear shirts take a hand. On the ground before them rest their bows. They lean forward
holding their heads out like bears. As those in the circle rise to dance, the [237]
spectators throw buffalo chips at the bear shirts, at which they raise their heads, holding their closed fists at their cheeks and growling like bears. This is repeated once. They rise, take up their bows and dance into the circle, driving the dancers back, then dance outside and drive them to the middle again. This is repeated four times in all. When food is brought in the bear shirts growl and take it; the others wait and eat what remains. The signal for closing the ceremonies is given by this unique pair, they discharging their blunt arrows at the sky.

The usual time for these ceremonies is early in the morning.

Maximilian does not mention the pigeons. This may have no signifi- 561
cance, for the society is regarded as of comparatively recent origin, the latest 575
historically.[1] So far as we know, any male may enter this organization by 796
purchasing the place and regalia of another; but it is considered a youths' 432
order. Such purchase may occur at any time, but the tendency is for the whole organization to sell in a body to a new group of younger fellows. The individual sellers and purchasers must be paired off; hence, it is not unusual for some members to hold over for want of a purchaser. This transfer is a formal affair comparable to the transfer of medicine bundles. A [346]
shelter is made by combining two tipis, in which the organization assembles. Each purchaser enters with a pipe, which he offers to individual sellers

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[1] Bear-skin, about 75 years old, says that he was a charter member of the pigeons in his [115]
eighteenth year. It was then originated by an old blind man, Ghost-boy, who dreamed it. [787]
This would make the date about 1853.

561 until it is taken and smoked. This act pairs them. A few old men, pre-
575 sumably former members, are called in to officiate, they having full charge
796 of the ceremony. The following narrative may be given as a type:—

> ●432 When I went into this tipi I had a pipe full of tobacco. I offered it to a man by the name of Bear-head. I told him the reason for it. I wanted his rattle. He was assistant leader. He took the pipe from me, held the stem up in the direction of the sun and prayed. Then he lighted it and smoked. All those who went in with me did the same. When all had finished their smoke, Bear-head began to paint me and give me the rattle, etc.

The purchasers are instructed by the sellers and coached as long as necessary. For all such services fees are in order. Other societies are certain to challenge the pigeons to athletic, gambling, parade, and other contests in which each member is expected to do his utmost.

[578] After a dance they sometimes run about outside the camp, where they annoy the women carrying water by shooting through their buckets.

THE MOSQUITOES.

561 The organization of this society is similar to the preceding. It is as
575 follows:—

The leader (1)
The yellow mosquitoes (4)
The mosquitoes (x)
The old men comrades (4)
The single men comrades (1-2)
The drummers (4)

561 The leader wears an eagle tail-feather on the head. His face and body
575 are painted red with a black band across at the level of the bridge of the nose.
796 He wears a buffalo robe, hair side out.

The four yellow mosquitoes are each painted yellow with a red band
[237] across the nose. They wear feathers in the hair and robes, hair side out.
[302] On each wrist is tied an eagle claw, representing the mosquito's bill.
[292] The mosquitoes paint in red, wear plumes, but otherwise dress as the
above four. The four drummers use half of a rawhide to beat upon.
[534], The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothes during the ceremony,
blankets, leggings, etc. They have no special regalia.

The number of single men comrades is said to vary, sometimes being two and sometimes four. It was stated by an informant, that single men were taken in in this capacity by some of their relatives. Sometimes, older men it was said, are backward about dancing or taking part in the ceremonies whence they sometimes have one of their young relatives entered as a single man comrade. Thus the member can remain seated while his young representative dances in his place. Young boys may be taken in in this way.

The single men comrades dress and paint like the other members. Again, 561
the society itself may take in the son of a chief or other prominent man so 575
that they may receive food and other assistance from the family.

The dance ceremony opens with a parade in single file around the outside 796
of the camp circle, sun-wise. Having completed the circuit they proceed to 561
the center and sit in a circle. The four drummers sit in the middle before 575
their pieces of rawhide.

When dancing they move in single file, forming a circle. While doing 796
this the four yellow mosquitoes march in single file to one side, thus with the 535
main body, forming two lines. At this time, there is neither singing nor dancing. The drummers do not march with them but proceed directly to the place they select for dancing where they seat themselves. Then the files approach and form a circle around the drummers, the leader at the head with two of the yellow mosquitoes on each side. The other members sit in the circle where they wish. At the end of each song they all squat down, with heads low, making a buzzing noise like mosquitoes. When seated they lean forward and draw their robes over their heads. After four dances they again circle the camp and scatter along the outside. Anyone falling in their way will be scratched with the eagle claw. They say, "Now, I shall get blood from you." Their rule is to do the opposite of their victims' appeals; thus, if asked to be let off, they will scratch brutally; if told to be severe, they touch lightly. If a man takes off his shirt and invites them to take their fill, he must not be touched; likewise, if a woman bares her arms. They must not invade tipis or the bounds of the camp circle.

The usual way is for the mosquitoes to sell out to the pigeons. A 561
shelter is made by combining two tipis. Some old men are invited to con- 575
duct the transfer, or selling out. This is conducted in a manner similar to 432●
that for the pigeons.

Most of the members are single men, but being married is no bar to [346]
entrance. They usually marry before selling out for the simple reason that they are of proper age.[1]

THE BRAVES. 561 575

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leader (1)
Willow brave (1)
White braves (4)
Black braves (4)
Bear braves (4)
Braves (x)
Old men comrades (4)
Single men comrades (4)
Drummers (4)

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[1] Maximilian, 116.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

formed by combining several covers. The members of the society did not 561
live in this tipi or stay there so far as we could learn. At other times they 575
may make a practice of regularly meeting at the tipi of a member, frequently 796
that of willow brave, where they dance and hold other ceremonies as may be [346]
desired. At the close of each ceremony they return to their own homes, however.

When food is brought out for the dance feast, it is set down by the willow brave. Then the bear braves come forward, growling, but as they are about to eat, the black braves croak like ravens. Then they retreat, but return to eat. When they have finished, the others eat. At any time the bear braves

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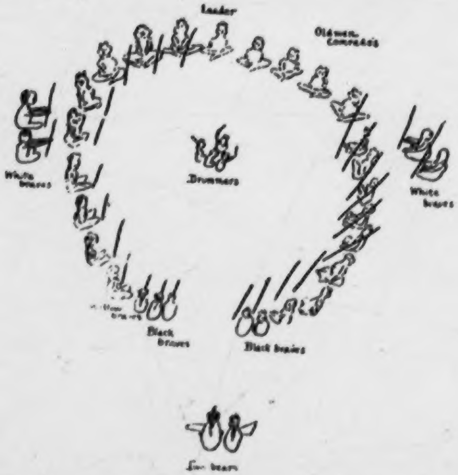

Fig. 6 Sketch showing the Positions of the Braves in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

may meet the returning hunters and take what they choose. They go out 561
accompanied by two braves, bearing a tipi pole, upon which the meat they 575
seize is strung. [796]

The mosquitoes usually buy into this society, though anyone may so
join. The majority are married men and probably range in age from twenty [432]
to thirty years. Grinnell considers these warriors of the first class; but on this point we have no data save that they are to be distinguished from the foregoing societies as married men. It was said that after marriage a man

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usually sold out his place in the mosquitoes. They transfer to the all-brave-dogs, all at the same time.

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[432]
Regarding the casting off of moccasins, one informant says this running out was to look for buffalo and that when they were sighted the braves threw away their old moccasins and put on new ones. He narrated that once when so doing, the braves were surprised by enemies: the leader seeing the case hopeless, gave orders to dance, when they formed the circle and began. After watching them for a time the enemy seemed impressed with their medicine powers and retired.

[114]
Maximilian does not name the braves, yet they must have existed at that time. However, his account of the "soldiers" leads us to suspect that he confused them with the catchers for he says:—

> They are the most distinguished warriors, who exercise the police, especially in the camp and on the march; in public deliberations they have the casting vote, whether, for instance, they shall hunt, change their abode, make war, or conclude peace, etc. They carry as their badge a wooden club, the breadth of the hand, with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle. They are sometimes forty or fifty men in number. Their wives, when they dance the medicine dance, are painted in the same manner as the men.[1]

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

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The organization of this society is as follows:—

- Leader (1)
- Assistant leaders — horsemen (2)
- Bear-all-brave-dogs (2)
- All-brave-dogs (20)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (2)
- Drummers (4)

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[292]
[237]
The leader wears a coyote skin with his head thrust through a slit in its middle and in addition the best costume he can get, such as weasel-tail, hair-lock suits, and war-bonnet. He always wears his blanket across his left arm and carries his rattle in his right hand. He paints his nose, mouth, and chin red which is spoken of as the coyote painting.

[302]
[237]
Ranking next to the leader are the mounted men. For the ceremonies they secure the finest horses possible and also the best suits including, if possible, the war-bonnet with a tail. The horses are painted on the hips, neck, and face with symbols indicating the war deeds of the rider.

[534]
[411]
[292]
[237]
[531]
The two bear-all-brave-dogs are now familiar characters. They are the only ones with bows and arrows. They wear a peculiar headdress

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[1] Maximilian, 117.

575 The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also
561 one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the ceremonies.
[276] There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar
[554] smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy
his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any particular
official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the
ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and
care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and
are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that
[424] there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay
[432] member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course,
of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay members
[292] have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left
[237] arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each
wears a feather.

[534] An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the painting
upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their
[531] painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the
[302] painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic
significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the
copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin.
[796] When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the
former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will
count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the
[787] rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person
who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this
way.

[887] The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the
various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride
[203] about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired.
[534] These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear
a feather at the back of his head.

[292] The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such
[237] as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to
which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society
[556] usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine
costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the
society.

[796] A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This
[535] is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal 561
dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9). 575

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride 796
around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them 535
down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the
feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance.
This is done but once.

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number 561
of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter 575
means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake 796
their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used. 533
[539]

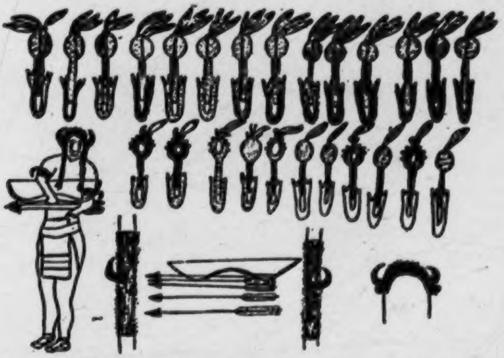

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Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the 561
camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other 575
presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet [431]
they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when
on regular guard duty.

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are 561
supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a 575
particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as de- 432
scribed in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the 424
same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased [778]

561 at any time. Thus, one may approach a member of the society with a
575 filled pipe. When he takes this and smokes, the offer to purchase the
432 membership is made and cannot be refused. The transfer ceremony is
424 then performed and the purchaser becomes, by virtue of his ownership,
a member of the society. It is said that now and then a man becomes tired of his membership and solicits a purchaser to whom he transfers his rattle. These were regarded, however, as unusual since the rule is for the whole society to sell out at once.

561 Maximilian does not distinguish this society. Some Piegan assert that
575 it was introduced by the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago and that these in
174 turn got it from the "Black Indians"(?). On the other hand, no society
of this character has been reported for the Gros Ventre. We have so far encountered no Blackfoot origin myth for it. The preceding societies have definite myths and are believed to have appeared first to the Blackfoot. This is curious, since they seem more recent than the all-brave-dogs and yet bear an obvious resemblance to it.

THE FRONT-TAILS.

561 Our informants are not agreed as to a formal leader for this society, but
575 there seems to have been a leading pair at least. Its organization may be
given as follows:—

Leaders (2)
Front-tails (x)
Old men comrades (?)
Single men comrades (?)
Pipe keeper (1)
Drummers (4)
Women members (?)

561 The front-tails do not braid the hair but allow it to hang free. An eagle
575 tail-feather, trimmed with quills and small bells, is tied on the head crosswise.
796 Narrow garters of otterskin, decorated with quills and bearing bells, adorn
[302] the legs. The chief regalia, from which they take their name, are belts, or
scarfs. On the right side of the belt is an appendage, formed by wrapping a
[237] stick one hand long with the skins of two buffalo tails. This was bound
[292] around the middle with red cloth and some beading of large white and blue
beads. To one end is attached a fringe of buckskin, weasel fur, and red
[531] cloth, with bells at the ends. This is the "buffalo tail seen from the front."
The ends of the sash hang down on the left side (Fig. 11).

[302] The entire body is painted black and marked down with the fingers. Small dots of white are made on the joints, the cheeks, forehead, and chin. Across the eyes is a band of red and again across the mouth.

Drums are used, but no whistles. 561

The faces of the women members are painted like those of the men. 575

The formal ceremonies were usually held early in the morning. "Because 796
the buffalo get up early in the morning and go down to drink." Out-of-doors
they sit in a circle, each man's wife, or corresponding woman member, sits 535
directly behind him. The men dance in pairs, holding hands with the free [534]
hand on the hip. (Fig. 12.) All the pairs face the same way, except the [825]
leaders. The latter always keep in the reverse direction. The dancing is

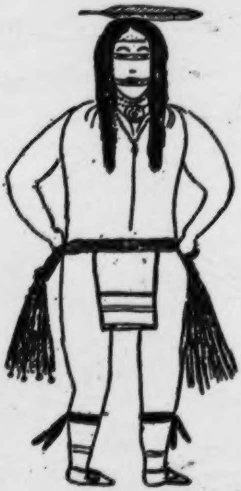

Fig. 11.

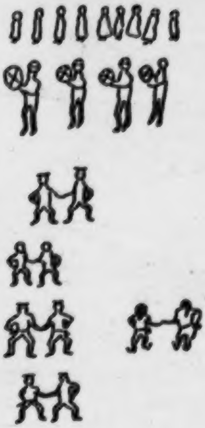

Fig. 12.

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Fig. 11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail.
Fig. 12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails. Drawn by Big-brave.

said to be in imitation of the buffalo. The four drummers come behind 561
with the women, who assist in the singing. After a dance, they rest and 575
smoke; this is repeated four times. When they are about to begin, the 796
drummers strike four times and at each all shout, "Ho-o-o-o!" Before 535
each rest there is one shout. It will be noted that the members carry
nothing in their hands.

The transfer of membership is well described in Mr. Duvall's notes 561
obtained from Big-brave:— 575

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561
575 At the age of eighteen, Big-brave, joined his first society, the front-tails. As a
796 rule each society takes as members four young men and four older men. Big-brave
was taken in as one of the younger members. To begin with, all the men who were
432 to buy in, went through the camps and invited their chums and when all were gath-
[424] ered together, they proceeded to the center where two tipi covers were combined to
make one large tipi. Upon entering the lodge all the men who were about to become
[114] members had filled pipes, which they offered to those of the old members from whom
[115] they had chosen to buy. All the members of the front-tails are supposed to have
women partners, usually their wives; but as Big-brave did not have a wife, he went
[346] with his mother.

Each purchaser sat down near the man from whom he expected to purchase.
[237] The buyers cleared the grass in front of the old members and placed some buffalo
dung and sage grass on the side nearest the old members. The smudge place was
[824] about a foot square. All the new men made a smudge place near the old members.
Sweetgrass was used for the smudge. The knives or axes which were used in clearing
the smudge places were a part of the fee paid the old members.

The old (ex-)members did not transfer their outfits to the new members themselves, but still older members did this. The pipes were offered first to the members, to make the bargain to purchase from them.

Big-brave sat near one of the members and offered him a pipe to smoke. At first
he refused to take the pipe, but finally he took and smoked it. Big-brave thought
that the man was afraid he would not get a horse from him as he had just received
one the day before, therefore his hesitation. Then Big-brave made the smudge
[302] place and the transferrer asked him to remove his clothes. When he had done so,
the transferrer painted his face and entire body black and scratched the paint down
with his fingers. The mother's face was also painted. A streak of red was painted
across his eyes and mouth and small dots of white on his cheeks, forehead, and chin
and on all his joints. His new clothes were first passed over the smudge four times,
[292] and then given to him to put on. The transferrer then took up the otterskin which
is used as a garter strap, spat on it four times, passed it four times to the smudge
[237] place, and before tying it around Big-brave's leg, recounted four war deeds. The
[531] strap was a narrow strip of skin decorated with small bells and quill work.

During the entire ceremony, the transferrer had a piece of prairie turnip in his
[824] mouth, and before fastening anything on Big-brave spat four times on it. This is
the same kind of turnip as that used by the horns in their ceremony. It is said to
[778] be very sacred.

Then the transferrer took the feather which was used as a headdress, spat on it
[292] four times, made four passes over the smudge with it, recounted four more war deeds,
[237] and fastened it crosswise on Big-brave's head. The feather is an eagle tail-feather,
wrapped with colored quills and has a hole in the middle through which is passed a
[531] buckskin string with which the feather is fastened on the hair. Then he took the
belt of the front-tails, held it to the smudge place four times, spat on it four times, told of four war deeds, made four passes with his knife and cut off a few inches of the tail. After this he fastened the belt around Big-brave's waist and as he did so all cheered him. The tail of the belt hung on the right side. A blanket was also given him and a digging-stick was placed near Big-brave's feet. As he rose and stood by it his foot was held by the transferrer and passed four times to the smudge; then he stepped over the digging stick, going forward twice and backward twice. A dog was brought in and placed before his feet and he stepped over it four times.

All the new members went through the same actions as Big-brave and each 561
transferrer related four war deeds before fastening the trappings upon the new member. 575
Big-brave paid a horse and some blankets as a fee for buying into this society.

When Big-brave and all the other new members were dressed and painted and 796
had stepped over the digging-stick and the dogs, they all stood up in their places with 432
their wives and mothers or women partners. The drummers struck their drums
once; all shouted, and then the drums were again struck. After the fourth time [534]
the members sang and danced in their places inside of the tipi. At first they danced [535]
facing the center, then facing the wall, then the center, and then the back. Each new member was given a drink of water by the old members' wives, the new members paying for their drinks with blankets, guns, or a horse. After this they all sat outside of the tipi in a circle and danced as before. After the dance, all returned to their homes.

Big-brave says that that evening the one who transferred to him, came to his [264]
tipi and a smudge was made. As Big-brave was to eat, the transferrer took a small piece of the meat, spat four times on it and after making four passes to the smudge with the meat, placed it in Big-brave's mouth, thus giving him the privilege of eating his food.

The next day all the new members and some of the transferrers went out on a [224]
hunt. When they had killed a buffalo, the transferrer showed them how the backbone was broken and the buffalo tail cut off. Thus they were granted the privilege [424]
of cutting off the buffalo tail or butchering and cutting the backbone in two when they wished to do so. This completed the transfer ceremony.

During the dances and when they are seated in a circle outside the tipi, their wives sit at their backs. During the butchering ceremony the new members had to pay a fee, which consisted usually of arrows or other small articles.

In passing, it may be said that the detailed features of this transfer are common to many serious ceremonies of this kind, a discussion of which will be found in Vol. 7.

We have recorded the origin myths for this society. A version will be 561
found in Vol. 2, 112. In one not published we find the same story with 575
some variation. It opens as follows:— 539

> There was once a young single man who always carried a stick around with him, like a gun rod. On the end of this stick was a small leather cross which was called the butterfly. One day, when the buffalo went over the drive and were milling around in the enclosure, the young man happened to be standing by and poked his stick under the tail of a buffalo cow. When he drew his stick out, he saw that the leather cross had come off. The cow jumped over the fence and ran away.

Otherwise, the narrative is similar to the version cited. Our informants 561
have a conviction that the ceremony was originated by an Assiniboine who
saw buffalo dancing. They recalled that some visiting Assiniboine once 575
marched about their camp, singing the front-tail songs to the surprise of all. 173

THE DOGS.

The organization is as follows:— 561 575

- The Black-Dog (1)
- Assistant Leader (1)
- The Black-dancers (2)
- The Dogs (40)
- Old men comrades (2)
- Single men comrades (3–4)
- Pipe keeper (1)

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair 561
fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered 575
with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made 796
from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and [292]
there with feathers.

According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the [237]
Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to [531]
him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl [184]
feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to
whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society
had but one leader, known as the black-dog.

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that [292]
it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers [531]
instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those described
above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits [231]
or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, [534]
fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The
dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while 561
the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to 575
the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until 796
the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the 535
dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, [431]
the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing
this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the
society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied.
According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about
the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet.

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although 561
as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the transfer 575
ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he 796

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[173]

561 was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the pur-
575 chaser could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter
796 as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a
wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident.
●432 Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was
173 still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians.
582 All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who
by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 397]

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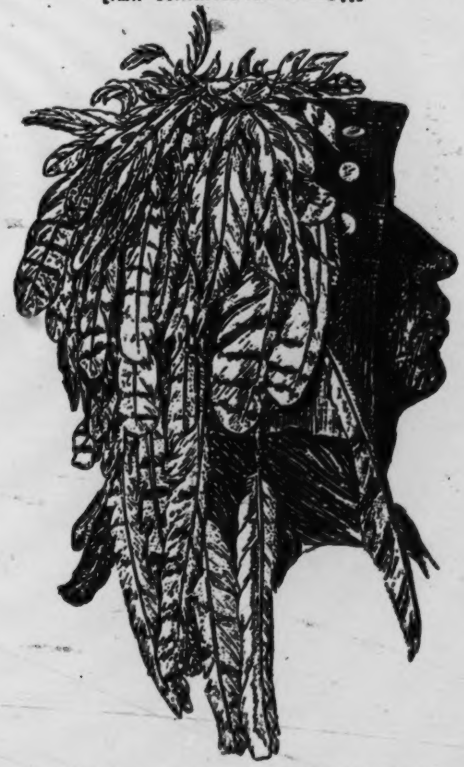

Fig. 15 (50-5409c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

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his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the 796
arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that 432
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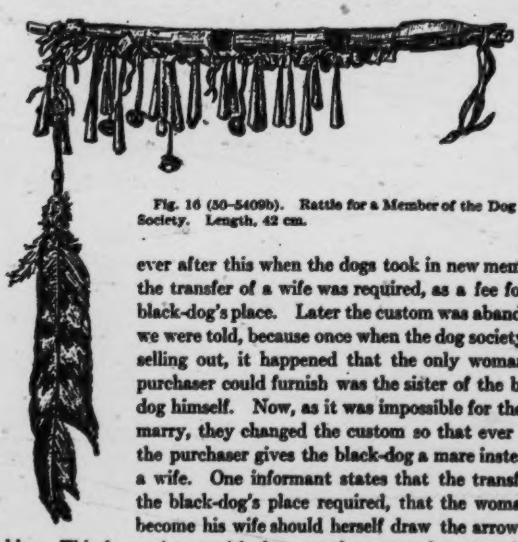

Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

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ever after this when the dogs took in new members, 561
the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the 575
black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned 796
we were told, because once when the dog society was 432
selling out, it happened that the only woman the 173
purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black- 582
dog himself. Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.[1]

THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (motsomita) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote- 561
brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two indi- 575
viduals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the 124
all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

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[1] See also Curtis, 6, 30.

While anyone could buy a place in the brave-dogs, it seems usual for 561
men to buy in after having passed through the dogs. At the time of the 575
transfer ceremony the purchaser is required to sleep out in the brush four
nights in imitation of dogs or coyotes. [432]

The following statement of Big-brave may be of interest:— [424]

> All those men known as brave-dogs were very brave men. They used to dance around the circle of camps and enter a man's tipi and would take one of his arrows, but if a man did not want them to take any of his arrows, he would go out, meet them and whip them away. Then they would turn away at once. In their songs they say "I want dogs to eat my body," meaning that they are not afraid to die. When approaching the battlefield they use their rattles, sing their songs, blow their bone whistles and stand fast, unless they are whipped back by some of their people.

According to some informants the owners of the brave-dog ritual were younger than the dogs, the former being about forty years of age. But, [432]
on the other hand, it was stated that anyone could become a brave-dog in
the usual manner, that is, if he took a filled pipe and called upon one of the [424]
owners with an offer to purchase. When the man took the pipe and smoked it, the transfer took place.

THE KIT-FOX.

Kit-fox was the name of an extinct Piegan society still regarded as very powerful and dangerous to speak of. Thus Grinnell writes, "Of all the societies of the I-kun-uh-Kah-tsi, the Sin-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the strongest medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. [184]
They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar
secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here."[1] In the main it [114]
is correct to regard the horns and kit-fox as one organization, but on the other hand our informants report some important differences to be enumerated later. A brief paragraph on the kit-fox is given by Curtis.[2] We pre- [173]
viously gave a version of the origin myth in which occurs the following passage. "She had no dress on, but just a robe around her. She wore a plume on her head, and held a prairie-turnip in her mouth."[3] The full import of this will be made clear in our account of the horns.

Owing to reluctance of informants, we were unable to obtain a concise 561
account of the kit-fox organization. The main leader wore the entire skin 575
of a kit-fox, with the head before and the tail behind. Around the neck 796
and legs of the fox skin were strands of beads. Small bells were tied to the
feet. Four eagle tail-feathers were stuck up on the top and one at the tip [292]

[237]

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[1] Grinnell, 222.
[2] Curtis, 6, 28.
[3] Vol. 2, 121.

[531]

432 The ceremony within the enclosure is chiefly that of the transfer.[A] For
561 this four days and nights were required. The incoming members were
required to abstain from sleep during this entire period. During the night
575 they often paraded about the camps, occasionally shouting. A curious
796 thing is that during this period they are forbidden to scratch themselves
[784] with the fingers but are given scratching sticks. Should they use the fingers
they will become scabby and vermin-infested like the kit-fox. At no time
561 must fox hair be burned in a member's tipi and no rabbit meat cooked at his
575 fireplace. McClintock states that members were not permitted to kill or
[789] trap the kit-fox.[1] According to Grinnell, "if they were at war in summer
[825] and wanted a storm to come up, they would take some dirt and water and
rub it on the kit-fox skin, and this would cause a rain-storm to come up.
In winter, snow and dirt would be rubbed on the skin and this would bring
up a snow-storm."[2]

[302] Unlike the horns, the wives were not members; but they were painted by the former members in the manner described for the horns, to give them the power to care for and handle their husbands' regalia. We obtained no account of this ceremony, further than the belief that it was identical with that of the horn society (p. 410). The notion that the women were not members may, of course, be but a difference in point of view, since their functions in the kit-fox seem to have been about the same as in the horns.[3]

[173] In closing, it may be noted that we find a tradition that the kit-fox as here described was the result of an ancient union between two other societies. What these were, we did not learn. Big-brave says he saw the last kit-fox dance some fifty years ago, but that for many years several of the lances were kept and transferred as other bundles. The lances and headdress were often carried to war as individual war bundles. In former times, only members were permitted to touch the lances or any other part of the regalia.

THE CATCHERS.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leaders (2)	Catchers (x)
Pipe men (2)	Drummers (4)
Tomahawk men (2)	Women members (x)

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[1] McClintock, 446.

[2] Grinnell, 202.

[3] Bear-skin and Big-brave state that the horn and kit-fox societies were the same in most respects. Their lances were alike, the women were "painted" the same way, but what is more to the point, the kit-fox songs are sung in the horn ceremonies.

Maximilian (German ed. 577) notes both the kit-fox and the horns, giving the hooked staff as the emblem of the former and asserting that the latter wear "thin horns."

A. [See Category 116, p. 401--Analyst]

The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem 561
to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed 575
their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine. [411]

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a
black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely [778]
around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or [302]
hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that [292]
the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and
chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose. [531]

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though [124]
the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their
rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present 796
owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that 432
of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The 276
pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular 778
medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers
society and the iniskim (buffalo rock). [561]

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:— [575]

> First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and
> singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then [539]
> he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs,
> "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe [539]
> and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then
> make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and
> placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe,
> holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, [539]
> the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the
> drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it.
> Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle [302]
> around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing
> the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, [535]
> everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and
> dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the
> north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice
> towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as
> he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before, until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child
> present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout [534]
> and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed
> back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is
> tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

796 request for the transfer of the catchers pipe. He must also give the owner
●432 a horse at this time. The next day the transfer ceremony begins, requiring
276 four days. Each day the bundle is opened and the ceremony just described
performed. At present the purchaser is required to pay ten head of horses,
778 blankets, clothing, etc., but in olden times, five head of horses were all they
[435] paid. (Vol. 7, 159.) An informant states that the two catchers pipes were
formerly quite peculiar and did not resemble the other pipes. Now,
however, the rituals are much the same which he attributed to the fact
that they had been transferred many times and that each owner tended to
add or modify the ritual according to some vision or dream.

561 The tomahawk men dressed in plain painted buckskin suits, but wore
575 buffalo robes with beadwork at the two upper corners to which tie-strings
[292] were attached. In the middle of the robe was a large beaded cross. The
function of the tomahawk men is to stop fighting or other boisterous conduct
[531] in the camps. It is said that they are always certain to turn up whenever
[625] there is trouble around.

According to one informant, the tomahawk men carried symbolic axes
[532] or hatchets carved out of wood while the members carried clubs covered
[411] with buckskin fringes and white beads, with buffalo and deer hoofs at the
[237] ends of the fringes to serve as rattles. In Maximilian's account of the
leaders we find the following:—"They carry as their badge a wooden club
[531] the breadth of a hand with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle."
(117.) All the members wore buckskin suits and robes.

[796] In the formal ceremony they sit in a circle with four drummers in the middle. After the dance they go about the camp and tear up the robes of anyone they chance to meet. In the dance the pipe men dance first. As in most other societies the dance is repeated four times.

[625] When the catchers are sent in pursuit of a delinquent or misbehaving tribesman, he may escape them provided he can get into a position in which none of the members overcame an enemy. Thus, if he wades into the water on foot, he cannot be touched except by such members as have overcome an enemy in the water on foot. If he rides into the water he must be taken by a member who has dismounted an enemy in the water, etc.

THE BULL SOCIETY.

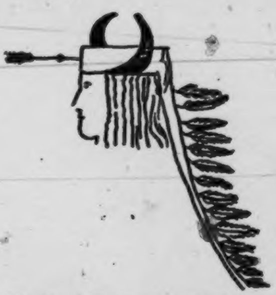
The oldest one of the series and the highest in rank is the bull society. It has been many years since the last ceremony and scarcely anyone alive now even saw their dance. Fortunately, the peculiar belief about war-bonnets discussed elsewhere (Vol. 7, 110) tended to preserve the ritual.

561 secured, Fig. 21.A It is of the head band type with a fringe of weasel tails.) Each
575 of these men carries a small bulb rattle with large wrist guard and streamers of ribbon
292 at the end. Their clothing is of no fixed form, but should be elegant.

237 Of lower position is a single man wearing a cap made of swan skin who also can
531 dress up to his means. His distinctive badge is a staff, or lance, about seven feet
796 long, painted yellow and sharpened at one end. To it is strung a strip of flannel in
[533] sections of black and white. In the ceremonies this lance is planted in front of its
bearer and is spoken of as the "mighty lance."

There are two mounted men, one on a black horse, the other on a white one.
[411] They are spoken of as the "ones who ride back and forth." The one on the black
[302] horse wears a black suit and uses a black saddle. His face is painted red and he ties
four owl tail feathers in his hair. The one on the white horse wears a weasel-tail suit
[411] and paints the face red. Sometimes he wears a white hat. Both men carry hooked lances about eight feet long. The one on the black horse carries an otter-wrapped lance with occasional bands of swan skin, while the rider of the white horse carries one wrapped with white swan skin with occasional trimmings of otter. Four eagle tail-feathers are strung on each.

One of the lay members carries the entire skin of a running fisher, stuffed and with brass buttons for eyes. The other members carry hooked lances also wrapped with otter fur and trimmed with swan skin.



[532] Fig. 20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society. Drawn by an Informant.
←

Four drums are used in the public dances which occur in the day time, in the open air about the center of the camp circle. The members sit in a three quarter
561 circle with the opening toward the east. At each end of the crescent is set up one
575 of the lances borne by the mounted pair. These are spoken of as the white and black
796 hooked lance respectively. The two leaders sit at the middle, or west part of the
535 circle, and the two rattle bearers to their left. The so-called "mighty-lance" is set
up inside in front of the leaders. Those of the members are planted in front of their respective seats. The wives of the various members sit just behind, thus forming a second circle. The men rise and dance, holding their lances forward, dancing around in a circle to their right while the two rattle bearers move to the left. Though they keep moving in the same direction they face now to the rear, now to the front. The drummers keep their places in the center. The women remain seated also. The two horsemen do not use horses here. Also each member is free to paint as he elects. The public is permitted to gather and look on.

561 The transfer, or ceremony proper, is a secret affair. First an enclosure is made by
575 setting up tipi poles and stretching over them enough tipi covers to form a screen.
The old members are now to sell out entire and in secret elect their successors. A
796 party then makes a round of the camp bringing in by force the men chosen, also their
432 wives.[1] As some of those chosen succeed in eluding their ceremonial captors, the
[346] hunt continues until the required number is secured.

---

[1] For the forced transfer see Vol. 7, 156.

A. [See Category 116, p. 414--Analyst]

561 575 796 432● [302] The men are stripped to their breech cloth and moccasins and painted all over with red paint by their ceremonial fathers and transferrers.[1] In the meantime, the wives of the fathers and sons exchange clothes behind curtains held up by the wives of the transferrers. The son's wife is then brought forward and given two suits of clothing, one for the son (her husband) and one for the transferrer; she also takes the lance and other regalia for the son. She goes to the entrance to the enclosure and waits. Then the transferrer rises and followed by the son, walks slowly in a stooped position, and on reaching her each kisses her and receives the clothing in turn. The woman then takes the lance and other regalia to the rear of the enclosure where she plants the former and hangs up the latter. Then she and the two men take their seats, the latter dressing themselves in their new clothes. During all this the father keeps his seat. Each son, his wife, and the transferrer go through the above procedure in turn.

At the same time the son's friends bring in horses, blankets, and other property to pay the father. Here also the transaction for each individual is separate. This accomplished, the whole body enters a large tipi previously set up inside the camp circle where they sit and sing the songs for the sons, or new members.

After a time they emerge and march entirely around the camp circle, sun-wise. The two riders now use their horses. Four times they pause and dance, the signal is given by the two horsemen riding back and forth in front of the column. Having made the circuit, they proceed to the center of the camp where the mounted bearer of the black lance invites some one to come forward and recount four deeds with the lance. If the members present cannot do this, an outsider must be called in. Then they dance once again; after which the women take the lances and headdresses and dance with them.

In all dances the man with the arrow on his headdress leads.

[203] [276] [831] [824] After a time a herald goes about the camp ordering everybody to keep close indoors, for the secret ceremony of the horns is to take place. The new members gather in a large tipi "to be painted by their fathers." The fathers, or the old members remain in their own tipis, but the transferrers meet with the sons. The wife of a son is directed to undress and cover herself with a robe. A small pipe is filled with tobacco. (One was obtained among the Blood, Fig. 22.) The woman extends her hands under the robe and holds the pipe horizontally with the bowl on her right side. She goes out and enters the tipi of her husband's ceremonial father, sits down at his left and offers him the pipe. He takes it, holds it up, and prays; then lights it and smokes. When burnt out, he refills it and hands it back to the woman. (The woman has been instructed as to her part.) The father then leaves the tipi with the woman. Once outside they walk slowly abreast, but some six feet apart. The father watches closely for if the woman stumbles, he must turn back at once, leaving her to return to her husband. When the two are out some distance the woman again hands the pipe to the father. Again, he takes it and prays, but does not smoke. The woman then reclines on her back with her feet together. Vestem mulier ita plicat ut genitalia sola aperta suit.[A] The father places a piece of prairie-turnip in his mouth and stands first at the woman's feet upon which he spits; then at her right, then at the head, and finally at the left. The woman lies as if dead.

---

[1] In the transfer each individual sells to one other in the same fashion as with medicine bundles, Vol. 7, 272. The man selling out is the father to the purchaser, and there is a third man, or transferrer.

A. [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

Pater ad mulieris pedes iterum accedit flectitque super eam. Tunc, manibus suis in humeros mulieris impositis, genua ad eius femora collocat et facit sic ut membrum suum visile vulvam eius attingat: quo facto (ad pedes) surgit.[A] 561 575 796

Now, the ceremony may end here at the option of the father. If not he goes again to her feet. Primum in formana cornus digitum vir curvat: deinde, uno femore in sinistram partem amoto, bisontis modo mugit; postremo, altero femore in dextram partem amoto mulierem futuere incipit.[B] As he does so the father spits into the woman's mouth with the piece of turnip in his own. The father then returns to his tipi, while the woman holding the pipe as before goes to the door of the meeting place. There she stands until someone comes out to see who is there. When her name is announced, the transferrer and her husband go to the door. She then enters, being careful not to touch the sides of the door. The transferrer kisses her, receiving the turnip into his mouth. He also takes the pipe still filled. Then her husband kisses her. 432 [831] [833] [824]

The transferrer asks if she has been properly painted, and she answers according to the completeness of the preceding ceremony. If the ceremony was complete, the pipe she carried is lighted and passed. The woman is put to bed, still covered with her robe, where she must lie quietly until the next day.

All the wives of members must go through with this during the same evening. [276]

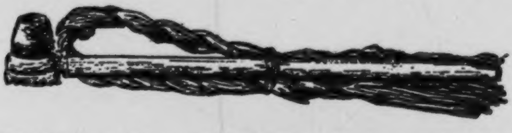


Fig. 22 (50-5401a). A Pipe used by a Blood Woman in the Transfer Ceremony, for the Horn Society. Length, 30 cm.

The next morning camp is moved. The women are taken up and placed upon travois, the horses being led by their husbands. During all this time the women must fast and abstain from drink. They must be helped on and off the travois, etc. After camp is pitched, the women each go to their fathers' tipis to be painted. He mixes up red and blue paints. The woman takes off her robe, but holds a corner over the pubes. The father smears her entire body with red paint. With the blue paint he marks a half moon on her breast. Then a circle on her back with either blue or yellow paint. On the crown of her head, he places some plumes. A blue circle is drawn around the face, a cross of the same on the left cheek and a dot on the right. (The men paint the same way.) A blue mark is made around each wrist and each ankle. [261] [302]

When painted the woman returns to her tipi, dresses, breaks her fast and resumes her daily life. Should the father fail to complete the ceremony the woman's face is painted differently. The left half is yellow and the right blue. On the yellow side is made a cross of blue, on the right a dot of yellow. Around the left wrist and ankle is a yellow band, around the right a blue band. Thus all may know by the painting. [302]

After this the father prays over some pemmican mixed with back fat and berries and gives it to the woman. She takes it home and distributes it to her relatives. [252]

The mounted bearer of the white lance seems to be under obligations to complete the ceremony. Mulier cum viro egreditur. Velut autra, sic mulier nunc decumbit; [833]

A, B, [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

561
575 vir, autem pipam prope mulieris caput collocat, at, tunica eius alrepta, libidiui dat
796 laxas habenas.A Our informant states that this white lance owner is usually jealous
432 of his wife for obvious causes and is not likely to get on well with her.

[833] 561 The following is an extract from Mr. Duvall's notes:—

575 A—— is an old man about seventy-five years old and quite absent-minded so that
his narrative is somewhat disconnected. Once during the talk the clock in my house
[114] began to strike. He paused and when it stopped, prayed to it for help in obtaining
[115] food.

This man is a Piegan but once married a Blood woman and lived with that
division for a time. Thus he came to be taken into the horn society. He did not
care to join, but one day a horn member came to his tipi, circled it, and then came in.
[784] He said that he had come to take me into the horns. "You cannot refuse for I have
circled your tipi," he said. This meant that bad luck would be his portion, if he
[302] refused. Hence, our informant became a member. He was conducted to the meeting place and painted entire with the "seventh paint." A black circle was marked
[237] around his face. The women, by the way, wear seven plumes in their hair.

[784] It is very dangerous even to talk about the society. Once in a dance two members fell down; they died in a short time. Our informant once killed a buffalo by the
[789] power of the horns. In chasing a herd of buffalo, he began to fall behind. Then he
rode back and forth across their trail four times, whipped the ground and shouted.
Setting out again he saw a fat cow, down but still kicking. At another time he used
[754] the same formula to cause a rider's horse to fall. Again at a horse race between
some Piegan and Flathead Indians, he spat four times upon a stone and placed it in
the hoof print of the opposing racer, which soon became lame.

When a horn member wishes to kill a person, he sharpens one end of a small stick,
[784] paints it red, names the victim and casts the stick into the fire. Once when the horns
were assembled, a man came in and denounced them vigorously. No one said
anything in reply, but within four days the defamer took sick and died. Thus it is
dangerous to speak evil of them. Even white men fear them.

561 Our informant's wife did not join the horns because she was blind. The society,
575 had both day and night ceremonies. The latter was spoken of as, "sending them out,"
796 the women being sent out to be painted by the retiring members. On the evening
for this ceremony, orders are sent out for everybody to remain indoors as the horns
432 are about to send out their wives to be painted. The people fear them and obey:
[784] should anyone go out, he will meet with grave misfortune.

Once while the horns were marching around, they entered a tipi but the leader,
seeing that he must pass in front of a medicine-pipe man, paused. The others told
him to go on as the power of the horns was much greater. So they all passed in
front of him.

In the painting ceremony the wives are usually sent out in charge of a third man
[431] to conduct them to the ceremonial father. This conductor is expected to make the
woman fine presents; hence one seldom wants to perform this service, but does it
only by compulsion. The woman will afterward treat her conductor in a familiar
manner, she may sit by him and wait upon him, occasionally "scratch his head,"
and her husband can say nothing.

[302] In the painting ceremony the husbands are assembled in the meeting place and
wait there while their wives are conducted to the respective fathers' tipis. The father

A.[See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

000 [A very free translation has been made by HRAF of the passages in Latin on pages 413, 415 and 416. The translation has been complicated by apparent misprints in the Latin text and the use of words not found in any Latin dictionary available to the translator. Therefore, the researcher is advised to use these translations with extreme caution.]

561 Page 413.

575 The woman folds her clothing in such a manner that the genitals
796 alone are uncovered.
● 432

[831] Page 415:

[831] The father approaches the feet of the woman again and bends over them. Then, having placed his hands on the shoulders (?) [lumeros=humeros(?)] of the woman, he places his knees at her thighs and does thus so that he touches his male (?) [visile=virile(?)] member to her vulva: that done he gets up to his feet.

[833] First, the man bends his fingers in the shape(?) [formana] of a horn: then, having moved one thigh over to the left side, he bellows like a bison; finally, having moved the other thigh to the right side, he commences to have carnal connection with the woman.

[833] The woman is marched out with the man. Just as (??) [autra], thus the woman now lies down; [416] the man, on the other hand, places the pipe(?) [pipam] near the head of the woman, moreover, having taken off (?) [alrepta] his tunic, gives full rein to his passion (?) [libidiui].

takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, 561
he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the 575
meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like 796
scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name 432
of the husband after which the woman enters and spits [784]
the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This
turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She
then squats over a smudge.

Some of the women are refused by the fathers, [558]
because they themselves are not of good repute or
because their husbands are not worthy men. In any
case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his
wife properly painted. 561

Our informant never went through this painting 575
ceremony. Some time after joining, a woman came 796
one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying 531
that she came to be painted. He told her that he
could not because he had not received the necessary 237
instructions. She then returned to her husband, who 532
sent her to another man. →

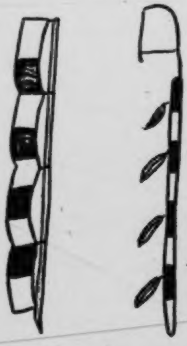


Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. *a* A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; *b* Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant.

The writer has a statement from Strangling-
wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint 561
the entire body red. Some wear plumes at the 575
backs of the head, others wear war-bonnets of 796
several different forms. The lances, however, [292]
are the main objects. They are usually made of [302]
pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's
lance is five hands longer. The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. [237]
Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, [824]
because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers
are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These [782]
are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old
ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19).A These are provided by certain men
and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are [782]
offered and some tobacco left at the stump.[1] The whole camp must keep
very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made
and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, [531]
after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

---

[1] Flat-tail, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox. [784]

A. [See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

561 575 into the mosquitoes, he with them bought into the braves again and thus remained a member for five years. For two years he was a member of the all-brave-dogs but joined no other society after this because all the societies for older men had been discontinued.

Extended comment on these narratives seems unnecessary since taken in their entirety they present almost every phase of the Blackfoot system of progressive membership. We have previously noted that theoretically a membership terminated during the fourth year, but this seems to have been contingent upon opportunity to sell out. It will be observed that of the ten intervals given by our informants, four are of three years' duration instead of four years. This may be due to the stated rule that one should sell during the fourth year of membership which in some cases would give an actual interval of little more than three years. When Bear-skin corrected his error in skipping a society, he not only served four additional years, but felt obligated to buy in a second time with his companions. As noted elsewhere this companionship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot scheme.

We understand that there were no definite age requirements for membership. On this point, however, we have very meager concrete data. Some informants were of the opinion that the ages of members would not vary more than two years, which is in keeping with the Blackfoot conception of chums (Vol. 7, 16). On the other hand, some informants were equally positive that great differences in age did exist. It is evident that if all members in a society are of equal age, there must be an absolute age limit for entrance to the first of the series. There is no evidence that this was the case.

Thus, since boys of any age were taken into the lowest society and then automatically carried through the series, there could be no great uniformity in age. It may be that the chum idea was made the basis of a symbolic equality in ages; at least, this was Mr. Duvall's opinion.

561 575 432 424 We come now to the method of joining a society. In the preceding paper on the Blackfoot (Vol. 7) we discussed the transfer conception, or scheme, that seems to underlie all their ceremonial procedure; hence we need but add that membership in a society falls under the same scheme. When it is said that one society sells, or transfers, to another, the process is in all essentials the same as for ceremonial bundles. As we have pointed out the latter are strictly of individual ownership and it is quite in keeping with this rule that when entering a society, you have transferred to you the particular regalia, seat, and functions of a given member. As is made clear in the account for the horns (p. 413) the parties to this transfer are the new member, the retiring member, and an ex-member, the latter officiating.

No other man has any part in the ceremony. This is practically identical 561
with the son, father, and transferrer relations previously discussed (Vol. 7). 575
While it is the rule that all members perform these various ceremonies of 432
transfer at the same time, they may occur at any time, as is shown in our
personal narratives. If for any reason *A* should privately transfer to *B*, 424
B and not *A* would report when the next meeting of the society was called.
It seems then that these societies are after all but organizations of individually owned ritualistic bundles (regalia) and that the whole conforms to the tribal ceremonial scheme.

This accounts for the absence of anything like election or selection of 561
officers, or persons to fill important functions. Thus, it was the rule for 575
the young man who held the leader's place in the lower society to receive by transfer the regalia of the next higher, etc., to the end of the list. On the other hand, any leader could privately transfer his regalia to another, who thereby became the leader. It was the custom, however, to fill vacancies by death by a kind of informal election among the surviving members. Thus, there were no important restrictions to membership, since even the purchase price was insignificant. Conversely, there are no provisions for dismissing members who fail to live up to ideals, nor were we able to find special ideals of conduct as among the Dakota societies (p. 64).

Another interesting feature of this society system is the adjunct of four old men and four very young men, the former seemingly as honorary members, the latter as assistants. Consistent with the scheme of comradeship these usually accompany the age group to which they were first attached even up through the higher ranks. The old men have very real and important functions in the pigeons and mosquitoes since the youthfulness of the regular members is likely to interfere with ceremonial decorum. Likewise the young men assistants have very real functions in the highest rank where the members are likely to be among the superannuated.

575 During the first day men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with
796 them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The
[782] faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the fore-
head and nose with a fork at the top. This is said to symbolize the tipi pole in the
[302] center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

[346] The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the south-
east. In going out members use the nearest door but return by the other. The four
[534] singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle
(Vol. 7, 190). They sit west of the fireplace.

[535] All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they
blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the
four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again the feather bonnets take a
turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. Her
[292] person seems to be regarded as sacred. She wears a buckskin dress and a snake
[237] bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. This bonnet takes
[531] its name from a circlet of buckskin stuffed with hair and resembling a snake. It is
painted yellow with a zigzag line beaded along the side. On each side of the head is
a bunch of plumes. Fringes of weasel fur and beads hang from the sides.

The feather bonnets are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft bird feathers.
They have tail pieces falling down on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of
small wing and tail feathers. All their dances occur in the daytime. The scabby
[535] bulls wear bonnets with horns and robes of cowskin, hair side out. They dance in
single file, circling the pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to
the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next
the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way.
Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

[782] It is customary for persons who have made vows, or pledges during the year, if their prayers be granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

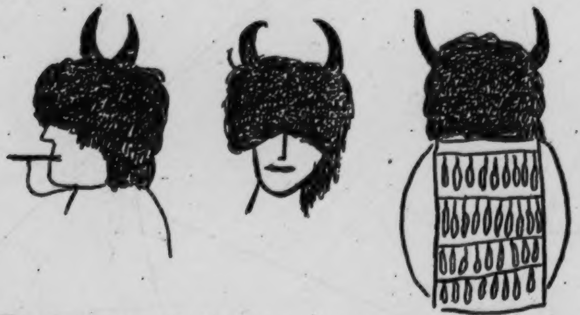
796 On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, the ma'toki forms in procession
575 and imitates buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression or low place in
535 the prairie. As they drift along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place
designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one some person lays hold of them and leads them to a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

796 Like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others, usually
575 all transferring at the same time. The ceremony seems to require four days and

nights, during which time they are not supposed to sleep. No men are admitted at 796
any time and the six male members are sent home at night. It is said that the entire
night is given to hilarity. Joke and jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and 575
act out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll up blankets like medicine bun- 432
dles and hold mock ceremonies. The object of this seems to be that no one may go
to sleep.

The fees for buying a membership are a horse, a gun, and other property. The [424]
most expensive place is that of the tipi pole owner for which twelve horses and a
proportionate amount of other property are required.



796
575
292
237
531
532
[302]

Fig. 27. Buffalo-wool Headdresses for the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. These are intended for different views of the same headdress. The top is heavily covered with buffalo hair while the skirt bears four rows of bird feathers. The wearers paint a circular white spot on each cheek and one on the forehead, with a cross in each produced by rubbing away the paint.

As to the transfer ceremony, we have not been informed, but have notes 796
on an interesting proceeding between the new member and the one she dis- 575
places. In the morning each new member goes to the one she purchased of, 432
her ceremonial mother. She enters the tipi, throws down her robe, places
her hands upon the mother's head, passing them down to her shoulders and
kisses her. By this the mother understands that she is to accompany her
daughter. The mother is conducted to the shelter, walking behind and given
a seat facing the center. The daughter then sits in front facing the mother.
Some red paint in a cup and some blue paint in a shell is provided. The [302]
mother then paints the daughter's face.[1]

---

[1] The following comment is by Mr. Duvall: — Our informant did not say whether the old members had to remain there during the whole day or not. The old members had to be there every morning and painted those who came there to be painted. The ma'toki were in charge when the camp circle was formed. It seems that they meet at the time of the sun dance. I am unable to find out whether they meet at the time of the tobacco planting.

Her husband belonged to the horns but refused to talk about them as it was said to be

796 575 432 302 Outsiders may come in later with offerings to the sun and have their faces painted by the mothers. The regular painting is yellow over the face with a red horizontal band across the eyes and one across the mouth. Down the forehead and nose is the peculiar forked line in blue, previously mentioned.

796 575 [561] It is a peculiar fact that the horn society having its ceremonies at the same time, brings in its unwrapped lances and fastens them to the center pole as an offering.

The closing ceremony of the ma'toki consists in taking down the shelter and the frame, leaving only the center pole, with its sun offerings. Then the members stand around the pole and sing. This concludes the ceremonies for the year. (Fig. 19.) A

The ma'toki, like the horns, seems to be feared on account of its magical powers, though it is regarded as inferior. During their ceremonies and especially at night, they must not be disturbed.

The statement of another informant is as follows:—

> The ma'toki meet once a year at the time of the sun dance. Should there be no sun dance, they would perform their annual ceremony anyway. The owner of the center tipi pole seems to have full powers of initiation and from her must come all instructions as to date, place, etc. In response to her call a camp circle is formed. [782] When a sun dance is not given simultaneously, the ma'toki go about from tipi to tipi collecting the cloth, etc., to be offered the sun, which is then tied to the center tipi pole. If a sun dance is under way, they are tied to the sun dance pole instead.
>
> [432] During each ceremony, early in the morning, the new members go out and bring in those whose membership they purchased. Suppose A transferred a place to B; then B conducts A to the ceremonial shelter and A paints B. This must be done each morning during the ceremony. A remains in the shelter during the day, to paint any outsider who may come with offerings for the sun.

Dr. R. H. Lowie observed parts of the ma'toki ceremony among the Northern Blackfoot and writes as follows:—

> In the afternoon of June 17th the twenty members of the ma'toki were busy constructing the lodge for their dance. After several hours' work they proceeded to the circumference of the camp circle for the selection of a lodge. They marched in single file, headed by an old man who was said to sing at their performance. After a while they were followed by a man bearing an eagle feather fan, the herald of the [346] sun dance. They walked twice around a lodge, stood still for a while, then took down the lodge and carried it back to the dance lodge where it was superimposed on the conical roof of the structure already erected. The walls of the lodge were lined

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[796] [575] [432] dangerous. He is a member of the horns and his wife a ma'toki. Mrs. Strangle-wolf speaks of the horn members' wives and yet we find one man who is a horn and his wife is not. I asked them about this, and she said that she was a ma'toki, that her husband was not, and that she had nothing to do with the horns.

A.[See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

He brought it from the Crow where he lived some twelve years. He knew that 794
it came from the seven stars. The Crow gave him some seeds of a small plant with a [177]
song, which gave him a membership. After a time he dreamed of six dwarfs and they
gave him power to get horses, property, food, and long life. Since that time he has [787]
always had abundance. When he came back to the Piegan, he sold or transferred
to Curly-bear some of his power and since that time the latter has prospered. He [432]
claims that all of the members are prosperous. When a member is taken in he is [237]
given the skin of an otter, blackbird, weasel, beaver, or something with a song.
These songs must have been dreamed by some of the members. Women can be
taken in alone, but if married, both husband and wife must join; likewise when a
man joins, his wife must enter. A man joins by calling upon a member, making [432]
him gifts and asking him for some of the Crow-water power. These gifts are supposed
to be many quilts, horses, etc. Each member gives him some object and an associated [424]
song.

The members receiving the gifts must divide them among other members as far 794
as they will go, one thing for each. Each one receiving a horse must contribute
some object, a song and some power, the others are free to choose. Thus, the highest 432
price paid for membership brings the most medicines. The objects are placed in a 424
bundle which becomes the new member's individual medicine. They are not treated 422
as most medicine bundles, but may be opened at any time.

In the ceremonies the women usually do the dancing. The men seldom dance 794
but do the singing. The women do not sing when they are dancing. There are no
regular times for meetings, but it is usual to hold them every Sunday and at the time 796
of the new moon. Ceremonies are held in compliance with vows of outsiders or
members as with other medicines, but they may meet on any occasion. The number
of members is not limited in any way. None of the proceedings are secret. Everybody may look in, but only members can come inside of the tipi or ceremonial circle.

The members usually paint their faces yellow, with red bars across the mouth [302]
and forehead. A rectangle of red is also made upon the backs of the hands. A few
plumes and feathers are worn on the head. There are no other regalia, the chief [292]
things being the individual bundles of the members.

The taboos observed by bundle owners are also in evidence. Neither marrow 794
nor bones may be placed in the fire or the owner's horse will have his leg broken.
Lodge pins must not be put in the fire or the owner will have a tumor (?); nor must 784
iron be put in the fire and allowed to become red hot, or the owner's teeth will fall 751
out. If lodge poles are burnt up, horses will die. The owner must not touch moccasins while smoking; he will have a scabby mouth. Moccasins placed under the bed will bring bad luck. When dancing and smoking, if one should pass in front of him, the smoker goes blind. He must not lend a blanket to another as this will bring bad results.

The medicine formula or power may be used as follows: — If a member wishes a 794
horse, he calls in other members and sings the songs and offers prayers. It is believed
that one so doing will soon be called upon for some service and receive a horse as a 789
fee. Other wishes may be gratified in the same way. An outsider desiring anything may formally announce that he provides food and presents for a meeting. Then members assemble and hold a meeting. This is usual in sickness. Vows to provide the feast may be made as in case of medicine bundles.[1]

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[1] Vol. 7, 148, 173.

794 The following account is by Owl-top, an active member of this society:

796 [756] The dance may be given at any time. Sometimes when a person has made a vow to give a feast because of someone who is sick the members, who are notified, pray for the sick person. As soon as he recovers, the person who made the vow makes a berry soup and goes to one of the members and tells him to have the dance. In entering the place where the ceremony is to be held, the members pass around the left of the fire to the right and take their seats. They must not pass in front of those who are already seated, but behind them. When seated the members place their bundles in front of them. In leaving the dance tipi there is no rule, the members may go out in any manner they wish.

The man who cares for the pipe, furnishes the tobacco, and tends to the fire, is seated at the left of the fire in front of the other members. Sometimes he also heats the skin on the drums, if it should loosen, in order that the drums should give a better sound when the skin is stretched. No one must ever pass in front of this man. The pipe is passed from right to left in smoking. As each man has his bundle lying in front of him a smudge is made, and after the bundle has been held over the sweetgrass smudge, it is unwrapped and the first person at the left sings to the accompaniment of six or eight drums.

The women are seated on the left and they rise and dance, the person leading in the song signalling with the skin or bird he holds, while the women imitate his movements. Each man sings all of his songs, the others joining him. After each man has sung his songs the dance ends. The men may dance if they wish to do so.

The person who makes the vow gives one of the members a horse and clothing, as well as the food. These gifts are divided among the members. Even if a man has purchased membership, his fees are divided among all the members.

When it is time for the feast, a smudge is made on the southeast of the fireplace and the pot of berries held over it, set down on the smudge, and then placed near it. The person who made the vow passes the food and just before eating each one takes up a berry and holding it up, prays. Then they all hold up the dishes with the food a little above their heads, set them down, and begin to eat. The members usually pray for the sick person for whom the vow was made. Formerly only members were given food and allowed to witness the dance but now all onlookers are given food. During the dance they pray for health and happiness. Anyone of the members, when he wishes to do so, may give the dance.

794 [782] [431] If a member should be a guest anywhere and be offered a pipe, he must always blow some of the smoke toward any medicine bundle that may be hanging up. If one member visit another, the host must always give his visitor a present of some sort. If he was nothing to give he will give a song. This refers only to those living some distance from each other.

794 432 [424] If anyone wishes to buy into the society, he fills a pipe and offers it to one of the members, at the same time asking him for some of his medicine objects. The member calls on the person from whom he bought the object to assist him. If the purchaser has a wife, she is also made a member.

First, the three men go through the sweat house ceremony. Then they go to the seller's house.

The new member calls the seller his father, and the man from whom his father bought, his grandfather. The father has no authority in the transfer, the grandfather doing everything. After the sweat house ceremony the new member and his

wife are given some clothing. In all, four sweat houses must be made but there is no 794
rule as to the interval between the making of each sweat house, it being merely a 432
matter of convenience. After the fourth sweat house and dance, the new member
and his wife go to the dance taking with them blankets, calico, and probably eight
horses to be given as a fee to the father. The grandfather has first choice of the
horses and the rest of the things are divided among the members. Then all the
members spread open their bundles and the new member may choose one object
from each bundle. With each object he is given a song. If at any time the new
member should visit his grandfather, he must give him a present.

Women as well as men are taken into this society, some unmarried women being members. During the dance, if there is a large attendance, each member sings only three or four of his songs, as it would take too long for everyone to sing all his songs.

Members of the society recognize the following taboos: bones must not be 794
heated inside of a member's tipi; meat must not be cut in a kettle, nor must a knife
be used to stir food while it is cooking; the picket pins must never be burned, should [784]
one be burned horses will be lost. When a member dreams of some new thing to be [787]
made up, he goes to his grandfather to do so and pays him for it. After the new
medicine has been made up, he tells the others about it.

The different medicine objects in the bundles are: mink, muskrat, otter belt, [778]
weasel, blackbird, sparrows, night hawks, beaver, magpies, snow birds, a wooden
hand, a whistle, robins, and other birds.

The power of this society consists in causing its members to become wealthy. [789]
Also, when the members pray, it cures the sick.

Before Owl-top joined this society an old woman, who came from the Crow, [156]
gave him a yellow shirt, a yellow robe, and a riding whip for which he gave her two
horses and other things. The shirt, robe, and riding whip belong to the Crow-water
medicine society. The old woman told him that some time one of his mares
would have a pinto colt, and that whenever this happened, he would have many
differently colored horses. Long after she told him this, he dreamed four times of
many differently colored horses. Then he believed what she had told him. Now,
it has been some time since the old woman told him about this pinto colt, and none
of his mares have ever born such a colt, but his son-in-law's mares have had two pinto
colts. He believes these are the colts the old woman prophesied about and thinks
that now his horses will begin to increase. This society came from the Crow, but [177]
it is not known how the Crow got it.

We previously published two origin myths for the crow-water formula, 794
one of which was evidently devised from the beaver bundle cycle.[1] In 177
both, however, the Crow origin of the society is emphatically announced.
Since Dr. R. H. Lowie, who has made a thorough study of the Crow, finds 174
no similar society among them, some discussion seems necessary. The fact [171]
that two individuals contributed to the society seems to favor the existence
of some parent ceremony among the Crow. On the other hand, the bundles
and procedures of the society are typically Blackfoot, the only distinguishing
characteristic as such, being the grouping of bundle owners into an organiza-

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[1] Vol. 2, 77, 80.

The regalia consist of a string of deer ankle bones painted red to symbol- 794
ize the deer, or that the bearer "holding these bones is likewise holding the 224
feet of the deer." When hunting they may wear on the head a pair of rabbit 789
ears, painted yellow, to give speed and endurance. In the members' indi-
vidual bundles are also weasel and other skins for which there are special [237]
songs.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the ritual is the use of hypnotic 794
power. There are four special songs for working this charm. In our col- 828
lection of myths concerning this cult, we gave the narrative of a Piegan who
came under the power of these songs.[1] Thus, it is said that a member paint-
ing his face yellow, taking up one of the skins and binding it on the head can
hypnotize a person by looking in his eyes steadily and then making a sudden
upward movement with the hands. After a time the operator wakes the
subject, after which he is an undoubting follower of the cult.

We learn from Professor A. F. Chamberlain that the Kootenai have a 794
black-tailed deer dance but for want of full published data cannot go into a [171]
comparative discussion. Naturally, the Blackfoot have the transfer and
bundle conceptions concerning this ceremony as with other organizations. [432]

Mr. Duvall secured a good account of the cult from Tailen Ashley, a [115]
mixed-blood Piegan, who introduced it among his people:—

> The dance is ceremonial and was introduced from the Kootenai. Those who do [173]
> not believe in the dance and ridicule it, are thrown into a trance by those who have
> the power, and are then awakened and become followers. Each man and woman [828]
> member has a song of his or her own and some have more. The songs are bought
> from members and a horse or other property paid for them. Sometimes new songs [424]
> are dreamed.
>
> The dance is held in the evening, generally lasting through the night. Some- 794
> times it is held four nights in succession. It may be given at any time, and is some- 796
> times given the night before hunting, when it is usually dreamed where the game
> will be found. Sometimes a vow is made to give the dance for a sick relative. About [789]
> midnight a feast is made. When the dance is given for a sick person all the dancers
> pray for him. If the members do not wish to dance they must remain standing to [755]
> show their respect to the rest of the dancers.
>
> At the beginning of the dance a smudge of sweetgrass is made near the rear of 794
> the house or tipi. The leader holds both hands over the smudge, places his hands 796
> near his ears, one hand on top of his head, his right hand over his heart, over his
> mouth and nose, and then takes his place. All the members repeat the same move- 535
> ments. The leader rises and stands in the center of the floor, and all the members [788]
> stand around him facing the center. He shakes a bunch of deer hoofs, and prays.
> Then he dances in place, then turns and dances around to his right, the others fol- [782]
> lowing him in single file, jumping up and down to represent deer. He stops, prays,
> and then dances as before. Then the man next to him takes his place and goes

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[1] Vol. 2, 159.

the pipe. At the close of each dance he fills the pipe and hands it to the 794
leader after which it circulates. As soon as it is burned out the dancing 769
is resumed. There are four periods of dancing. The evolutions consist 796
of dancing, alternately facing the fire and the walls, twice for each. Then 535
all sit down, save the leader who takes the pipe and prays. Then he sits
down and smokes. In starting a dance all rise to their knees, making
movements as in playing the stick game, where with four movements they
rise to their feet.

During the ceremonies no one must laugh nor must anyone spit. No [784]
dead person should be designated by name. [551]

A special ceremony was sometimes given by two members. They did
not use the regular painting but dressed in fine clothes and danced with [789]
ropes and whips. This was believed to bring good luck in capturing horses.

THE ALL-SMOKING CEREMONY.

We come now to a ceremony that goes by the name kanochisisin, or all- 794
smoking ceremony. It is not clear whether this is a cult or simply a group
ceremony like the sun dance. The right to lead in the proceedings seems [424]
to be owned by one individual and may be transferred like other ritualistic
things. Thus it is said, "If the man who leads in the ceremony is pleased [432]
with the presents he receives, he may transfer the right to lead to one pledging the ceremony."

The distinguishing feature of the ceremony is that it is a kind of medicine [554]
coup counting. Like warriors recounting their deeds, those present are
called upon to count over the different medicine rituals they have owned
and all fired with new enthusiasm to secure more. In conformity to a vow 794
or formal pledge a man will invite people to his tipi for an evening feast. 796
He will engage a man with the right to lead to conduct the all-smoking 554
ceremony. He will have ready a pot of tongues and berry soup; also a
quantity of tobacco cut and mixed. The meeting is to last until this is
used up. Each guest is called upon in turn to sing songs from one of the
rituals of medicines owned by him. So they pass around in order. The
process is thus a kind of counting out in that the last men are those who have
owned the most medicines.

The following account was secured by Mr. Duvall:—

> When a man vows to give the all-smoking ceremony he invites many men to his 794
> tipi and calls upon someone who has the privilege to lead the ceremony. A fee is 796
> paid in blankets or clothing. First the man giving the feast makes a soup of tongues,
> cherries, and blood. Before the tongues are cut up by the women, prayers are said [782]

songs in groups of four. If tobacco is left over some is tied up in the sun offering 794
and some given to some old man, who prays over it. Should the supply of tobacco 796
give out before sixteen songs are sung the ceremony ends.

When a smudge is to be made, the assistant takes the smudge stick which lies to 788
the north of the smudge, goes back toward the door and around the fireplace before 782
he makes the smudge. Each time the pipes are filled, the assistant hands them to some old man, before lighting them. The old man holds the pipe in the direction of the smudge, pointing twice with the bowl and mouthpiece alternately. Then he prays.

The berry soup is served at the close of the ceremony. First the assistant takes four pieces of tongue and gives them to the leader. He holds up a piece, between his thumb and forefinger, prays to the sun and stars, and places it at the south side of the smudge. Thus he places a piece at each corner of the smudge. He places a piece on the west and east side, and the fourth piece in the assistant's mouth. Before eating the soup everyone holds up a bit of the tongue and prays.

After the ceremony is over the leader hangs the sun offering in a tree or other
place. The leader may give the man who made the vow the right to lead in such a [432]
ceremony by simply saying, "You have paid me so well. You may lead such a ceremony and do as I have done." The ceremony seems to be connected with the sun dance as tongues are used and offerings made to the sun.

THE STICK GAME DANCE.

Within a few years a new association was introduced from a neighboring 796
tribe passing under the name stick game dance. It was reported by Duvall
during the winter of 1910–1911 as having just come to the notice of the tribe. [177]
He made no investigation of it but later James Eagle-child attended several
ceremonies, participated in some and interviewed the founder. In a [178]
previous paper it was stated that rituals were still being created and developed.
This is a splendid example and offers therefore an unusual opportunity [121]
for a functional study. The stick game outfit to which this ritual
is attached has been used by the Piegan for some years and seems to have [177]
originated with the Gros Ventre from whom they usually obtain them.
As developed in our paper on ceremonial bundles, it is difficult for a Blackfoot [121]
to look upon any curious object used by persons without a feeling that it is
"medicine." Thus, we are told that when a Gros Ventre exchanges a [432]
game set for a horse and other property, whatever power the set possessed
is transferred to the new owner. The suggestion is sharpened by the fact [424]
that certain special songs are used in the game, for according to Blackfoot [422]
conceptions the transfer of the bundle containing the set gives also a presumptive right to the songs.

The facts of the case seem to be that a Piegan, named Fish, once owned 778
one of these stick game sets and later had a dream in which a ritual was 524

778 conferred. This makes the stick game set a bundle and it has already
524 changed hands several times. At the transfer a horse and some clothing
[422] are given. (As a rule, the regular stick game sets were given to the person
winning four straight games.) The new owner's face is painted red, but
[432] in the game the players paint red crosses on the face. The songs used in
[302] the game and the special songs of the ritual are also transferred. Though
[429] the set is kept in a bundle, it seems possible to open it at any time and
[784] without the ceremony. The owner is subject to no taboos but menstruating
women must not go near the game. There must be no flirting among those present and the players must not cheat or members of their families will die.

The following is Eagle-child's account:—

778 In 1909 Big-spring bought the stick game dance bundle from a Gros Ventre. It
524 contains twenty sticks with magpie feathers and four small plumes on the end of
237 each. The sticks were about fourteen inches long and half an inch in diameter and
531 were painted red. Small bells are also attached to the end of one of the feathers.
There are two guessing sticks about fourteen inches long with eagle feathers and a few plumes and bells on their ends. These sticks are also painted red. There are four bones or hiding sticks two of which were blue and two white. There is a small wheel-like object about two and one half inches in diameter resembling the wheel
[824] used in the arrow game. This is worn by the guesser. Sweetgrass is used for the
smudge. The only difference between the two guessing sticks and the others is that the former have eagle feathers instead of magpie feathers.

796 The stick game dance or ceremony is regarded as a powerful medicine. In it
524 prayers are offered to God only and not to the stars, moon, sun, and other Blackfoot
deities. In case of sickness the head of the family may make a vow to provide a
[778] feast for the owner of the stick game bundle if the sick one recover. Then some time
after the recovery he invites everybody, old and young, to the feast. The ceremonies
[782] are held at night though the ordinary stick game can be played at anytime. When
all have assembled, the owner of the bundle takes his place at the back of the tipi or
[755] house and makes a smudge with sweetgrass. Then he opens the bundle and takes
out the contents. He then selects or calls for a woman to act as the guesser for one
[302] side to whom he gives ten of the sticks and one of the guessing sticks. He then
prays for the guesser, paints her face on the forehead, cheeks, chin, and palms with a red cross. Then he selects or calls for a man who comes forward and is fitted out in the same manner as the woman. These two become the leaders for the opposing
[533] sides. All this time the singers and drummers are rendering the songs used in the
game and those connected with the bundle.

All the persons present, men, women, and children, may take part in the game, sometimes as many as forty or fifty take part. The two players then choose their sides by passing their sticks, giving one to each person. The woman also hands out two of the hiding sticks to one of her side and the other to another. The man does the same on his side. The woman lines up her players on the right, the man his on the left. The woman ties the wheel ornament on her hair and play begins and continues until one side has all the sticks. Every time a game is completed, the winners rise and dance, making a great deal of noise while the losing side keep their seats. Every time a side loses a game, a new guesser is chosen in his place. The rule is that

When a dance is announced, all the members leave blankets or other property 535
with the whip or sword owners as a pledge to attend the dance. Should a member 575
fail to attend, his property will be destroyed by the sword and whip men. Occa- [784]
sionally, other property is returned in its stead.

During the dance, the whip owners aided by the sword owners, force the members
to dance by striking them. Should they cause the blood to flow, the whip and sword [681]
men pay the injured man well. When the members wish to go out during the dance
they give the whip owners some trinket, as a ring or necklace, in order to get permission to leave.

Later the grass dance society sold their dance regalia to the Blood. Afterwards [184]
the Piegan frequently visited the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre and returned with
some grass dance regalia and revived the dance, and added more to it every year. [177]
Nowadays, the dance is very different from what it used to be, and is not considered
powerful medicine. Dog flesh is no longer eaten, although the feast itself has not [178]
been abolished. At the present time anyone may join the dance as it is only given [262]
for amusement.

Henry-no-bear, one of the best singers among the grass dance members, once [432]
paid seven horses, a gun, and blankets for the office of furnishing tobacco. When
he sold to another man he received in payment only two horses and a few blankets. [424]
Nowadays, they neither sell nor buy into the society, but anyone owning a good dance outfit joins the dance. Sometimes one man can borrow the dance outfit from another and dance with it. There is no leader in the dance as all the members wish to be chiefs.

A second informant gave the following:—

At the present time the grass dance may be danced by anyone as it is not a cere- 535
monial dance. Once the crow belt and some other things were held to be sacred. [778]
The Blood now have a sacred crow belt.

Formerly, the members feared to smoke a pipe with a woman. Should a member [784]
drop anything at any time he must leave it for another to pick up. Only the counting
of four war deeds will give him the right to do so. This taboo is nowadays kept
only during the dance and is entirely disregarded at other times. Often property, [231]
such as blankets, or horses, or even a woman is thrown away during the grass dance.[1]

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[1] An informant commented as follows: — Sometimes the grass dancers give up their [586]
wives. However, as this dance came from the Crow, the custom is more common among
them. Some twenty years ago Flat-tail, a Piegan, gave up his wife during the grass dance. [587]
He threw away a stick and said at the same time, "This is my wife, I am going to throw her away." One, John-shorty, picked up the stick and took the woman as his wife. Both are still living. This was the first time this was done among the Piegan.

When a man finds fault with his wife he simply sends her back to her own people. One time a man discovered that his wife had a lover. Instead of killing her, as is usually done, he told her he would force her to marry her lover. The woman's brother heard of this and killed her. So the Piegan never make their wives marry others.

In the dog society it is the custom to give away a woman. A Blood once had several wives and decided to give the youngest to a man he liked. They were married and he called the man son-in-law and treated the young woman as his daughter. Another Piegan was very fond of the sweat house. One of his wives ran off with another man. The people told the young man with whom the Piegan's wife had run off to make a sweat house and pay the husband a horse for his wife. The man was well pleased with the sweat house and did not even accept the horse, but gave up his wife to the other and both men remained good friends.

221 effective marshalling of considerable bodies of men. It was
224 for the great summer hunt that the various bands assembled
[361] in a tribal camp. As the spring progressed the bands joined
up into a few major groups, and finally at an appointed season
the whole tribe converged on the summer camp, where for a
few weeks intensive hunting was followed by feasting and
ceremonial.

224 The summer hunting depended essentially on surrounding
the buffalo with all the available strength of the tribe. In
the days before the horse, which made the surround so much
easier, large pounds were probably used in summer as well. The
popular picture of a party of Indians on horseback circling continuously round a stampeding herd into which they shoot their
arrows represents the conditions of later days. When a herd
had been reported by the scouts a plan of attack was arranged
and the hunters were divided into a number of parties, which,
going by different routes, surrounded it from all sides. To
hem in the great herds more effectively the parched grass was
sometimes fired on the windward side. After they had acquired
horses the surround was far more easily effected and animals
which broke away could often be run down. Still later in the
[411] nineteenth century, when muskets were obtained by barter
[439] with traders who had come west across the Mississippi, hunting
[171] by smaller parties played an increasing part. But long before
this there had grown up a number of strict rules regulating
communal hunting which were found among almost every
tribe throughout the Plains. When a considerable herd was
in the vicinity individual hunting was strictly barred, and it
was a public duty to report it to the tribal leaders so that a
[575] communal hunt might be arranged. This regulation and
procedure was controlled by one or more of the men's societies.

361 For the tribal assembly in summer a great camp circle was
221 formed. The tipis were set up three or four deep in a circle of
perhaps half a mile in diameter with a wide opening on the
[621] east. Each band camped as a group in a traditional position
in the circle.

The Tribal Camp and the Men's Societies

575 Nearly every man among the Blackfoot was a member of
a society which performed dances and ceremonies, and also
shared as a group in the organization of the encampment and
migrations during the summer season. In each of the three
Blackfoot tribes there were several of these societies—from
nine to a dozen or more—which collectively embraced all the
men of the tribe and were known as 'All Comrades'. Each
[561] society had its own name, songs, dances and ranks. Its
[432] members were of about the same age and experience but they

575 did not remain in the same society throughout. Every four
561 years or so they transferred their rights of membership to
432 younger men and themselves obtained the rights to the society
next senior. These transfers, although generally made at the same time during the summer camp, were, however, individual transactions, the junior man making a payment of robes, weapons or horses for the regalia and rank within the society to the man whose place he wished to take. The latter then belonged to no society until he proceeded to purchase membership in the society above from an individual who was ready to sell.

575 Thus, once every four years as a rule, all the men save the
561 oldest changed their society for the one next senior, while
the youths joined the lowest for the first time. The societies as a whole, therefore, fell into a graded series, through which each individual passed as through forms at school. As at school, individuals did not always start at the bottom, and one or two might skip a grade later on or stay behind beyond
[888] the normal period. Moreover, a few old men became honorary
members of the more junior societies and acted as instructors, while one or two young men were admitted to the senior societies to serve as messengers and helpers of the old and less active majority.

In each of the three divisions of the Blackfoot the senior societies corresponded closely with each other, with similar names and relative order, but the number and names of the junior societies showed greater differences, probably because they were formed in more recent times after the three divisions had separated or lost their former close contact. Among the Piegan division the names and order of the societies at the end of the last century were: Pigeons, Mosquitoes, Braves, All-Brave-Dogs, Front Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kitfoxes, Catchers, and, most senior, the Bulls. This system of graded societies was a special development which had spread among
[171] some of the northern Plains tribes. Among other tribes the
societies remained at an earlier stage without official grading or provisions for systematic transfer.

575 Apart from the ceremonies and dances, which probably
loomed largest in the members' eyes, the functions of the societies were mainly to maintain order and co-operative action in the camp during the communal hunt and migrations of the summer seasons. For the rest of the year they were in abeyance and the members were scattered among the various bands.
[622] When the bands assembled in the spring, the leaders of the
societies conferred with the band chiefs, who outlined their

721 neck of a buffalo hide. Heavy wooden lances were also used
[411] extensively by some tribes in horse days and may have been
[177] copied from Spanish models. Plains warfare but rarely involved
pitched battles, or, indeed, save where specific motives
for revenge existed, the serious reduction of the enemy's
strength. Horses, not killing, were the reasons for going 'on
the war-path'. A small party set out on foot to the enemy's
territory, taking only their weapons, sleeping robes and a small
store of dried meat. If possible they crept up to an enemy
camp, cut loose the horses and drove them off. Conflict
721 followed only if they were discovered or pursued. Among the
555 Blackfoot the capture of an enemy's weapons ranked highest
as a deed. Among some other tribes, where the counting of
[171] coups was more formally elaborated, the touching of an enemy
ranked first, with the capture of weapons and horses as subsidiary
deeds. Coups could, among some tribes like the Cheyenne,
be counted by several persons on a single enemy, and they
ranked in strict order of touching, irrespective of who actually
[532] wounded or killed him. These deeds, recorded in picture
writing on tipi walls and buffalo robes, constituted a sort of
heraldry. Whenever a man was called upon to play a part in
a social or ceremonial function he first recounted his deeds.

648 Alternating periods of friendship and strife were the relations
of the Blackfoot to other tribes, but, like other Plains tribes,
721 the Blackfoot had traditional enemies like the Cree, Assiniboine
and Crow, and also allies, such as the Sarcee and less permanently
the Gros Ventre, against whom the elders forbade the
[201] young warriors to raid. The frequent contact of tribe with
tribe, whether in war or peace, was facilitated by the development
of elaborate gesture symbols, or 'sign language', which
was uniform over wide areas, irrespective of the fundamental
differences in speech.

'Medicines'

554 Rank among the Blackfoot depended not only on military
778 prowess but also on the possession of 'medicines', that is, of
rituals, and the objects necessary for their performance, which
would ensure the success of some project or desire, be it health,
a journey, a raid, a hunt or another ceremony. The 'medicines'
[421] were owned by individuals and transferred from one to another
[432] for payments. These were, however, not primarily commercial
transactions, but their full consideration cannot be undertaken
here. The ritual apparatus was usually wrapped in bundles of
554 otter or some other valued skin. While most older men possessed
some medicine the owners of the 'medicine pipe bundles'
were the senior and most entitled to respect. On the rank of
their medicine depended the place at a feast, the order of speech

out invitations: "All you Horns Society members 796
are all invited." The Horns said [to themselves], 575
*"Oki, it's us that took the tongue around the
camps and we are the ones that will make the
payments—Many Kill will just sponsor the Holy
Lodge—us, we will make the payments."*

The virtuous women, past holy women, were 793
individually invited. They assembled immediately. 796
Many Kill said, "You Horns Society members 778
will get me a father." Getting a father meant
that they would look for someone to transfer a 432
*Natoas Bundle to her. She would need dry goods
and horses as payments for the transferral. In the
future, when Many Kill transferred her Natoas* [575]
Bundle, she would pay back anyone who had [426]
helped with these payments.

The women who were to work on the tongues all went to the holy woman's tipi. The Horns Society members gathered the tongues, wrapped them in a blanket, and the leader took them to Heavy Shield's tipi. In the tipi, sitting at the back in the place of honor was Wolf Shirt, a respected holy man. The leader told Wolf Shirt, "Come to the Horns Society tipi." When Wolf Shirt went to the Horns, they said, "You will get a father for Many Kill. Who shall we ask?"

*Wolf Shirt went out from the Horns Society tipi to tell the one who was going to give up her Natoas. She did not refuse. She said, "I am glad to transfer my Natoas to Many Kill." Wolf Shirt first returned to the Horns and told them, "It is agreed. She will transfer her Natoas to Many
Kill." Then he went back to Heavy Shield's tipi
and told Many Kill, "I got you a father." With* [361]
*that settled, Heavy Shield moved his camp to
the other side of the camp circle.*

I have heard a lot of Old People say the holy 793
woman's tipi is never pitched on the north side 796
*of the camp circle, always on the south side. But
if the woman who is going to sponsor the Holy
Lodge is from the north side, she will have to
move her tipi to the south side.*

Heavy Shield's friends took down his tipi. Just [352]

pointed to follow behind. The singers beat their 796
drums as the procession moved along. 346

Many Kill was sitting out in the shade by her 575
tipi. The People brought to her their offerings
and pipes. After they unloaded the Center Pole,
the Horns Society members brought forward to 796
Many Kill their payments for the Natoas trans- 778
ferral. They carried dry goods in their arms and 793
each led a horse to the transferral. 432

The People tied tipi poles together, approxi-
mately a foot down from the top. Every separate 346
band came forward, singing a song with no words. 796
The People all jumped into the Holy Lodge. [533]
Heavy Shield sat on the Center Pole. He had on
a black robe and his face was painted black. He [292]
was blowing on his whistle. As the Center Pole [302]
started to raise, he jumped down, leaving his robe
on the Center Pole. That is the custom. [534]

The Center Pole was raised. Some blew their
whistles while others shot their guns into the air.
Everybody helped set the Pole upright and the
seven rafter poles in place. Two orderlies wear- [292]
ing crow-feather headpieces brought in the hide [237]
to tie the rafter poles and cross beams. The Peo-
ple got their horses again and rode down to the
river to cut young trees to cover the sides of the
circular structure of the Holy Lodge. Some riders
attached stirrup-cover decorations. Some wore
fur chaps, even though it was a hot day. Some [302]
men had on facial war paintings. The People [533]
sang a song with no words.

The riders were shooting and shouting. They came back through the east entrance, paraded once around the inside of the camp circle, and then they gallopped to the Holy Lodge. Some were bucked off on the way—the horses shy at the trees dragged by the riders. They raced to the Holy Lodge as a reenactment of the time when the Plains Indians rode into enemy camps at full speed.

The trees were set up against the cross beams of the Holy Lodge. Then the riders went home and turned loose their horses.

[p.47-B]

from a clay, though it used to be made from buf- 386
falo gallstones; and green, made from a certain 778
type of algae.

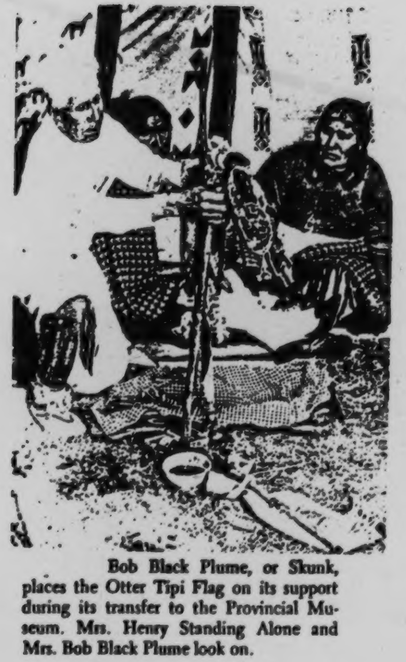
In the Old Days, these natural colors were [237]
mixed with water and animal fat to form the [824]
paint that was applied to tipi covers. Brushes were
made from buffalo bones. The bone was cut at one 532
end, so that its pores were exposed to form the tip [237]
of the brush. These pores held the thick paint [413]
quite well. The natural paints had to be rubbed
into the lodge covers very thoroughly, or else they
would run with each rainfall. Even so, the natural
colors tended to fade very quickly from constant
exposure to the elements. Nowadays, we use the [178]
somewhat organic combination of oil paint and
linseed oil, which has proved to be effective and
durable.

Painted tipis are usually given up as an offer- 782
ing whenever a new cover is made, as there should
never be two copies of the same cover. The old 532
cover is either offered to the Underwater Spirits 342
by sinking it with rocks into a lake, or offered to
Sun by leaving it weighed down by rocks out on
the prairie.

Nevertheless, occasionally two or more covers 432
having the same design can be found. In some 532
cases, they represent similar dreams by different
people. In other cases, they indicate a design not 342
ceremonially transferred but inherited, and prob- [787]
ably looked upon as a family heirloom or coat-of-
arms to be reproduced in new tipi covers—usually [424]
by younger people unaware that they should not
copy the design. And then there are those who [428]
know better, yet copy original designs on new
covers and sell them to museums and collectors of
"Indian relics." Finally, so-called Indian enthusiasts also contribute to the existence of multiple
copies of the same design, when they make painstakingly precise but nonspiritual representations
of some old design for their own tipis.

The Spirit of the Otter has inspired more 532
designs than any other spiritual power. Our own 342
Otter Tipi was one of four similar ones at last [776]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



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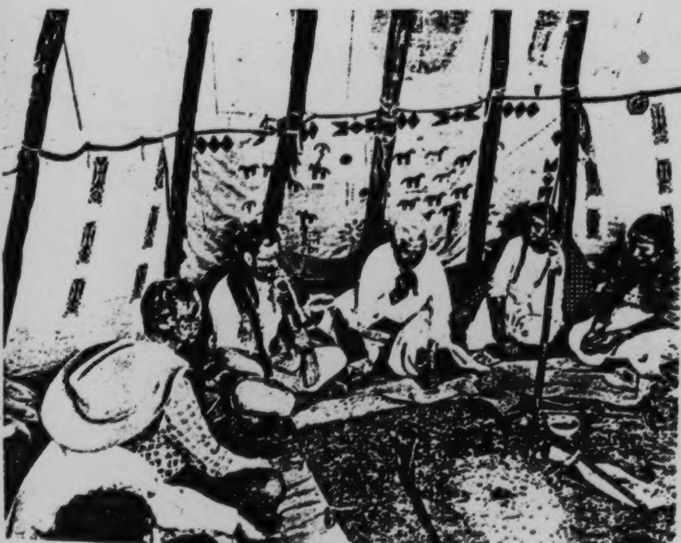
Bob Black Plume, or Skunk, places the Otter Tipi Flag on its support during its transfer to the Provincial Museum. Mrs. Henry Standing Alone and Mrs. Bob Black Plume look on.

[p.71-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



778
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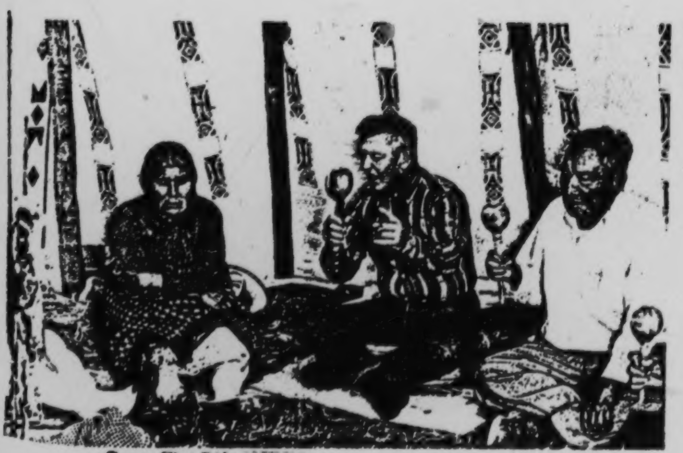
Transfer Ceremony of the Otter Tipi Flag. Eric Waterton represented the Provincial Museum at this ceremony. His face has been painted and the sacred skin has been placed over his shoulders to signify that he is the new Owner. On his right is Henry Standing Alone and Willie White Feathers. (Alberta Provincial Archives)

[p.71-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



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George First Rider sings one of the Otter Tipi Flag songs for the benefit of the Provincial Museum, which paid him for his help. Next to him is Tom Morning Owl, who sold the sacred flag to the Museum. (Alberta Provincial Archives)

[p.71.c]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

taken inside at night. During ceremonies such as 779
the Sun Dance, the Bundle is opened and the flag [415]
tied to an extra-long tipi pole so that it hangs high
above the doorway. As it waves in the air, the [237]
bells jingle, reminding everyone of its presence. [534]
Two of the Otter Tipis last summer had Otter
Flags flying above their doorways. One belonged
to the family of Many Grey Horses, who also
owns a Medicine Pipe Bundle. The other one belonged
to an old lady named Mrs. White Man
Left. The transfer ceremony for an Otter-Flag [432]●
Tipi used to be very involved and took four days [796]
to complete.

OTHER PAINTED TIPI DESIGNS

Let me explain some of the spiritual meanings of 532
tipi designs. Basically, the painting on a tipi is 822
divided into three sections: the band of symbols around the bottom represents Earth; the large area in the center represents Universe; and the section at the top represents Sky.

The bottom band is generally painted black, brown, or red, to represent the color of the Earth,
or else it is painted green to represent the grasses
and trees. Within this band are usually two rows [824]
of discs representing the puffballs that cover the
prairies, considered to be the remains of fallen
stars. This bottom band can be straight and flat,
for the flatness of the plains; topped by semicircles, for the rolling hills; or pointed, for the
mountains. In the back, directly opposite the entrance, [797]
the bottom band often rises in large
square ~~or~~ oval projection, representing the entrance to the animal's den the original owner went to for his dream. In a few cases this large design represents the boulders on which buffalo like to rub themselves when out on the prairie.

The large, central area on the tipi cover usually symbolizes the universe in general, and can also represent the particular element in which the dream animal or bird lives. It is here that the major tipi motifs are depicted. The male symbols

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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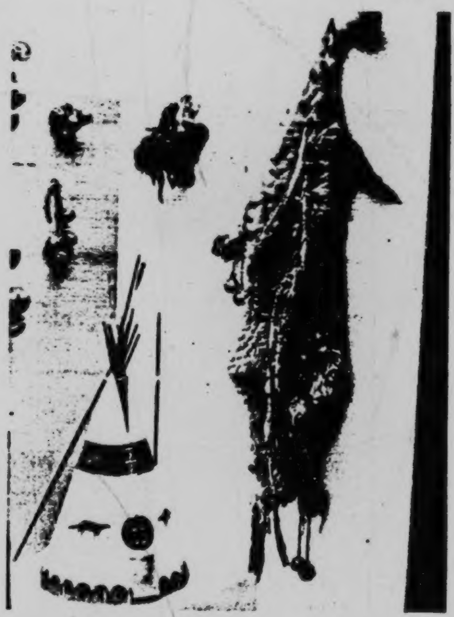

Wolverine Tipi Flag on display at the Provincial Museum. The model shows the ancient tipi design and the manner of hanging the flag over it. The tipi and flag were bought from the Bloods. The other objects are also painted tipi decorations, mostly bells.

[432] ●

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falo hunting or horse raiding, a buffalo or horse tail used to be fastened to the center of the cross and left to flutter in the air. Sometimes a crescent moon appears instead of a Maltese cross.

532
822
[237]

Large discs are painted on the ear flaps of the tipi, representing the two constellations, Great Bear and Pleiades. On some tipis, lines are painted below Night Sky: different colors represent a rainbow, the symbol of a clearing storm; lines painted in the same color usually represent the paths of the dream animals.

[p.73-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Shortly after 1900, Clark Wissler, an anthropologist, 532
interviewed the holy leaders of our different 424
divisions to compile a list of all the painted 432 ●
tipi designs among the Bloods. This was not
simple to do, because tipis, like most other sacred [114]
objects, have always been freely transferred from [778]
one division to another. For example, our own all-red [787]
Painted-All-Over Tipi, which originated long
ago in the dreams of a Blood man, is included in
Wissler's list of Blood tipis. Yet, not long after
this list was compiled the tipi was transferred to a
North Blackfoot man, and remained among them
for about thirty-five years. The last Blackfoot
owner, a man named Rainy Chief, or Herbert
Lawrence, transferred the cover to old Bottle,
from our reserve. Bottle didn't use the cover
much and later transferred it to his son, Camoose
Bottle, who gave it to his brother, Jim. We got it [123]
from Jim through a South Piegan man, who was
going to have it transferred to himself, but could
not gather enough goods for payment. The cover
is now very old, so we use it only for special occasions
and then only when rain does not threaten
—there are many small holes in it.

Although many painted tipis have traveled 532
among our divisions like our All-Over Tipi, Wissler's 184
list includes tipis that were considered distinctly
Blood.

1. Big-Striped
2. Mountain Goat
3. Wolverine
4. Bear
5. Fisher
6. Elk
7. Half-Black
8. Bald Eagle
9. All-Over
10. War
11. Crane
12. All-Stars
13. Prairie Chicken
14. Horse

[p.73-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

By comparing these two lists you can get 532
some idea of the tipis' varying names and translations, 424
as well as their transfer among our People 432
during the sixty or so years between the lists. An
example is the Big-Striped Tipi, in Wissler's list 184
but not in Gambler's. This tipi belonged to our
head chief, Red Crow, until his death in 1900.
The chief met with his council and his visitors in
this very large tipi. On Red Crow's death, the [428]
lodge was passed on to his son, Crop-Eared Wolf.
Crop-Eared Wolf gave it to his aunt, Red Crow's
sister, who was married to a South Piegan named
Running Rabbit. The lodge has been among the
South Piegans for such a long time that they now
consider it one of their old lodges.

The Big-Striped Tipi is also known as the 532
Single-Circle Lodge. A very wide red band with 822
six black otters is painted around it. The otters
run from back to front, three on one side and
three on the other. A long red oval just below the [237]
smokehole represents the otters' home; instead of
Morning Star in the back is a green symbol with a
narrow yellow border representing Moon, with a
horse's tail attached.

Although Wissler lists only one War Tipi, 532
there are traditionally two in our division. When [114]
the owner of a War Tipi makes a new cover, he
will either copy the adventures painted on the old
cover or have someone draw new adventures. One
of our War Tipis once showed the war adventures
of such men from the past as Natosina (Eagle
Plume), Heavy Shield, Eagle Child, Running
Sun, and White Wolf. The scenes showed scalps,
stolen horses, and captured weapons. When this [178]
same War Tipi was repainted a few years ago, it
depicted the adventures of men like Shot-on-Both-Sides,
Hungry Crow, and Stephen Fox. As the
war days were long over, theirs were not war adventures,
but scenes showing horses raided from
distant ranchers and goods captured from the
wagons and cabins of sheepherders and trappers.

For many years the Elk Tipi, which is on
Wissler's list, belonged to our head chief, Shot-on- [114]

[p.75-A]

Both-Sides. It now belongs to his son Jim, our 532
present head chief, who stays in it during our Sun [114]
Dance Encampments. It is painted blue with two
large yellow elk.

The Half-Yellow Tipi, painted half yellow
and half red, also was set up at our last Sun
Dance gathering. It now belongs to Albert Wolf [432]●
Child, who plans to transfer it to his son to keep
it in the family. Formerly, a variation of it belonged [424]
to our Old Man, as well as Mokakin. The
Center-of-the-Universe symbol is drawn at the
rear of the tipi.

Along with his list, Gambler also recorded 773
his stories of the origin of some designs. Here is 539
his version for the Half-Yellow Otter Tipi.
532

Oki! The Half-Yellow Otter design—yellow otters around one side and black otters around the other. This tipi was once owned by a man who lived in the water. One day another man sat nearby on a hill; looking down at the river, he suddenly saw tipis emerge from the water. The man from the water told the man on the hill, "This tipi is mine. Jump into the water and go into it. You are having difficult times. I will give you my tipi." The man jumped into the water, entered the tipi, and the transfer ceremony was performed.

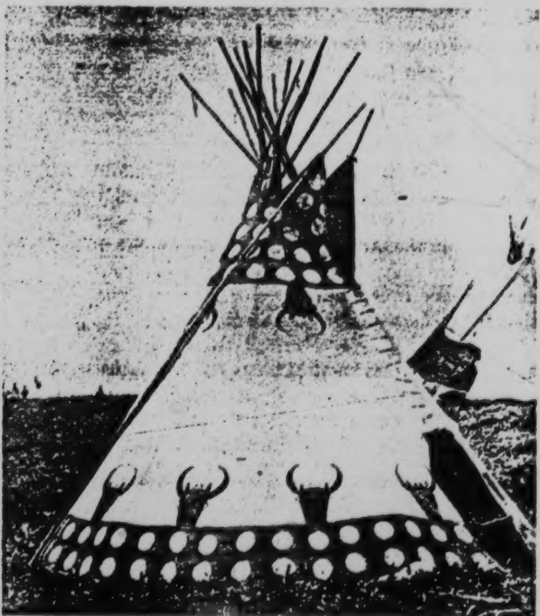
Gambler also told this story:

Oki! The Buffalo Head design. A buffalo bull had been killed and all his insides withered away. One time, a man was out on the prairie during a blizzard, so he slept inside the dead buffalo. During his sleep, the man was told, "Don't worry, nothing will happen to you. When you get back to your home draw my head all over your tipi to remind you of the Power that saved you."

In the Old Days, owners were well familiar 178
with the stories and ceremonies for their tipis. 796
This knowledge gave spiritual help and Power to 532
789

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

the tipi's inhabitants. They depended on the tipi's Powers to protect them from enemy attacks and from natural harm, such as wind and lightning. The spiritual protection of the tipi meant much more to them than its physical protection as a shelter. After the People no longer lived daily in tipis, the meanings of the tipi stories of origin and ceremonies began to lose importance. 178 532 796 789



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Buffalo Head Tipi, also known as the Upside-Down Buffalo Head Lodge. Sometime after this 1891 scene, this lodge was transferred to old Shot-on-Both-Sides, who gave it to his relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Wadsworth, when they took over the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. They later "fed" the lodge to the Crazy Dogs Society, one of whose members, Frank Red Crow, had it transferred to himself. (R. N. Wilson) [424] [432]

[p.76-A]

museum showcases or storage rooms—some as far 778
away as Berlin, Germany—than in the homes of 178
our People. Some of our most sacred Bundles
hang on walls as collectors' "Indian artifacts."

I will soon relate how some of our People 778
sold these sacred things to museums and collec- 432 ●
tors. But to help you understand why they did, I 178
must first explain how ownership and disposition
of sacred things is looked upon in our Old Way. [422]

As you may have already gathered, our sacred Bundles are, by tradition, transferred from one person to another by means of songs, ceremonies, paintings, and prayers. In our Old Way, a person who wishes to have the spiritual power of a sacred object need only express his sincerity to the Owner. He does this by offering the Owner a filled pipe and explaining why he wishes to have the Power of the sacred object. If the Owner agrees to the transfer, the person will give him some prized material item, such as a fine horse or favorite rifle, as a further sign of his sincerity. When the sacred object is actually transferred, the new Owner will show additional gratitude with more material sacrifices to the former Owner, the amount depending upon the sacred object. For something so Powerful as a Medicine Pipe Bundle or a Beaver Bundle, it was not unusual for a family to sacrifice all their horses, weapons, and clothing except for those needed to

continue their basic daily life. One hundred 778
horses were once given in exchange for a Medicine 432 ●
Pipe. In our Old Ways, these goods were 178
considered sacrifices, material wealth exchanged
for spiritual wealth. [771]

Outside influences came to displace this idea of exchange, trading one item for another, and replaced it with the concept of "payment." It wasn't long before most of our People began to apply this payment philosophy to our Old Ways.
Some began to regard the sacrifice of exchanging [771]
material things for holy things as a form of payment.
As the Old Ways eroded, and the spiritual meaning of things like these exchanges became lost, it gradually became fact that our People bought their sacred Bundles by "paying" for them. Some of our People even began to believe that such Power could be bought and sold for payments in goods.

Today, the transfer of our Bundles is often [796]
purely a material affair: only the barest ritual is
performed to satisfy traditional requirements. Neither the old nor the new owners make any spiritual adjustments in their lives in order to let
the Holy Powers help them. The Bundles hang on [556]
walls, more as status symbols than as inherited Holy Spirits.

Robert Wilson, the trader, was probably the 439
first to gather a collection of old things from our
People, including Medicines. During the years 177
Wilson operated his trading post at Stand Off, it 443
was not unusual for him to accept an old shield, a 778
pair of beaded moccasins, or a pipe and beaded pipe bag in exchange for new blankets or a gun. One man whose family was hungry and had no more food took the sacred Pipestem from his ancient Beaver Bundle and gave it to Wilson in exchange for flour. He replaced the sacred Stem in his Bundle with a broomstick.

Wilson's interest in obtaining the old things was to preserve them as well as to help out his friends on the reserve. He never pressured people to give up their old things. Instead, there were times when he gave the things back. An example

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

is the sacred Weasel Robe, a red blanket with 439
many decorations that were added by some long- 177
ago person as a result of a dream. Wilson once
took the robe in trade. His friend, Black Plume, 443
so admired the robe that Wilson gave it to him. 778
Black Plume later gave it to his son, Dick Soup,
who later sold it to the Provincial Museum in
Edmonton, where it is now on display.

Most of Wilson's collection is now in the [113]
Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. He
owned one of our Black-Covered War Medicine
Pipes, given to him by his adopted brother, Mean
Bandolier. Wilson kept the sacred Pipe in its
wrappings and hung it in a safe place on his wall.
He never opened it ceremonially.

Shortly after 1900, Clark Wissler visited the 439
Blood Reserve while making a study of the Old 177
Ways among our South Piegan relatives in Mon-
tana. He wrote down several old stories and, using 114
an early graphophone, recorded a number of our
ancient holy songs. He bought some "cultural [778]
materials," including a few Medicine objects of
minor importance.

It was not until the 1930s that we really be- 439
gan to lose our ancient holy things to outside per- 177
sons. In 1932 Madge Hardin Walters, a wealthy woman from San Diego, California, visited our Sun Dance Encampment. Mrs. Walters was quite impressed by the many fine old "collector's pieces" she saw around the camp. From her home she had brought along some silver and turquoise jewelry and Navajo woven rugs. She found these things to be good conversation pieces and was quickly able to trade them off for some of the more common beadwork. Her new friends invited her to their camps to visit and eat.

"The Indians had become more friendly, and
nearly all now smiled and spoke; which attitude I
encouraged all I could with tobacco and other
gifts to the head men," wrote Mrs. Walters in her
later book, *Early Days and Indian Ways*. In the 439
book she also describes her methods of encourag- 177
ing and conniving people of the Navajo, Sioux, 432
and Blood tribes to sell their ancient things to

[p. 80 · B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

her. She tells how she traded her Navajo jewelry 439
for old things with "Mrs. Red Crow, Sorrel 177
Horse's sister. . . . This was my introduction to
Red Crow and his wife, who became my dear 432
friends and generous, able assistant collectors."
This was Frank Red Crow and his earlier wife.

During her visit to the 1932 encampment,
Mrs. Walters became well enough acquainted
with some of our People to let them know she
was willing to spend much money for "Indian
articles," even Medicine Bundles. Her daughter [778]
later wrote: "From Red Crow and Percy Creighton
and Violet Sorrel Horse in Alberta, came
clumsily-wrapped brown paper bundles that
smelled of smoke and sweetgrass. These packages
disclosed treasures of medicine bundles, ceremonial
shirts; even a tipi."

By the time Mrs. Walters was finished with 439
us, our People had two fewer Beaver Bundles, 177
three fewer Medicine Pipes, a dozen or so fewer 778
Motokiks Bundles, and so many fewer other ceremonial
and society objects that she probably
could have started her own Blood tribe in California.
At one point, she sent a selection of "her
bundles" to the World's Fair in San Francisco,
where anthropologist Clark Wissler saw them. He
sent her a note of congratulation that said, "I am
pleased with your finds." Her finds, unfortunately,
were our People's losses.

Mrs. Walters kept a file of notes about her
acquisitions, along with copies of the numerous
letters written to her by her Blood collectors.
Copies of this material are at the Denver Art [113]
Museum in Colorado, where part of her collection
is, and at the Glenbow Archives in Calgary.
The papers speak for themselves. One of the letters 212
is dated "Blood Reserve, Cardston, Alta., 439
May 20th, 1937," and is signed by Frank Red
Crow. It reads: 778
177

The reason why I did not write to you right 432
away, I was trying to get some things for you and at
last have got two things for you. You know a
woman makes sun lodge who is honest life trueth

[p. 81-A]

to her husband and straight life and she will be 212
aloud by the indians to make the sun lodge, and 439
she buys the holy crown from another woman who 778
had made the sun lodge before and has to pay 177
horses and goods for the crown. I have no idea 432
how long this holy crown since was made quite [435]
old. The time you was over here at our sun lodge
there is a woman had two holy crowns she sold
one that time and a year after she died and left
one to her family and I bought this one from them
I give two horses for it, the reason why I got this
cheap the family all dead just two boys left they
will never have a chance to sell it, and boys was
glad to get two horses for it. You can pay me any
amount you like will be O.K. to me you have so
good friend to me. The other thing is a flag used [435]
be owned by Calf Robe I got it from that woman
on picture with Calf Robe I did buy it she told
me to sell it for her she wants $25.00 for it. A
teepe painted skunks on round the teepe with the
skunk flag. I send the buffalo game bones one is
lost I have only three should be four.

I just got done farming and we don't know how it is going be dry or wet. Sorrel Horse went to Browning I told him to call for my package at my sister's. I thank you many thanks for them. I will ask you for a summer coat for my daughter chest 38 in lenth 47 in.

I made a little thing here I send too it is for sewing before the iron came. Good-bye Sincerely Yours

Frank Red Crow

In March, 1939, Mrs. Walters received a package from Percy Creighton, or Little Dog. In it were what Creighton called "very important articles." It was a sacred Tobacco Planting Bundle, one of the few still in use among the Northern Blackfoot People at that time. Creighton added: "They are the main articles used in planting, more important than the [Beaver] bundle itself. A beaver man cannot go without these articles. An old man say I could buy. I took the bundle with a smile. I never thought that I could

[p.81-B]

ever get hold of anything like them. They are the most sacred articles in the big beaver bundles." 212 439

Shortly before this, Creighton had bought a Beaver Bundle for $150 from a Blood named Not Good. Creighton sent it to Mrs. Walters and wrote, "There is no longer a beaver bundle in the tribe." 778 177 432 [435]

Actually, there were still one or two such Beaver Bundles left on the Blood Reserve at that time. About three years later, Frank Red Crow named the right price to the owner of one Bundle and sent it off to Mrs. Walters in California. On September 16, 1942, he wrote this brief letter:

Dear Friend

I got your letter a few days ago with a great pleasure for the money you send that was alright thank very much. I will go to North Blackfoot Reserve to get you some tobacco planters this will be after the threshing, history and whisel [whistle] *I will send all together. First time I see a pipe like that straight stone pipe* [referring to an ancient straight bowl that was part of the Beaver Bundle he obtained for her]. *I heard that is the way all made like that before the indian ever see a file or iron well anyway before Columbus time. My wife and I sending you best wishes good-by*

Yours truly
Frank Red Crow

Among the seven or eight Medicine Pipe Bundles still with our People in the late thirties were two Black-Covered Pipes from the old-time Seizers Society. Frank Red Crow managed to obtain one of these pipes from its Owner, Small Eyes. He wrote: "The pipe bundle is a good one; very old. This man had this pipe 20 years. He was afraid just to sell it to me; he want to sell it as the old Indian fashion way so to get satisfaction, and I have to get it that way and will cost me more."

Mrs. Walters' notes for February 14, 1939: "Red Crow has had medicine pipe transferred to 439 778 432 177

[p. 82-A]

himself and is shipping it." The following week's news: "Pipe bundle arrived. Red Crow says the Indians think it is the oldest bundle in the tribe. He had lots of trouble getting it at all and difficulty getting it across the line [Canadian–U.S. border]." 439 778 432 ● 177

Mrs. Walters took a special liking to the Motokiks, the Old Women's Society. In the long-ago, that society had about forty Bundle-owning members. As with the Horns Society, each member was required to have a headdress and Bundle. When either was lost, that membership became lost and were not renewable. Thus, as you probably have guessed, Mrs. Walters's interest in the society diminished the society itself.

Mrs. Walters's notes reveal this interesting anecdote about her introduction to the Motokiks Society. She recorded it on June 18, 1936.

> *When I was there [Sun Dance camp] I was told a headdress of the women's society was for sale, but did not see it and had no idea until I saw the Buffalo Dance how remarkable they were. I have regretted ever since but at the moment I was rather startled by the price of $100 and some Indian promptly bought it.* [435]

Mrs. Walters learned quickly. A few years later she wrote:

> *Our informant states that the total number of Matoki Snake Women was ten. [The society is divided up into groups, each with its own style of headdresses. One of these groups was known as the Snakes.] So far but four of these have been acquired.*

There were eight buffalo headdresses in the society at the time. Some of them are mentioned in the various notes:

> *August 28, 1936. . . . Buffalo headdress from Red Crow with eagle plumes . . . belonged*

[p.82-B]

to her mother . . . Long Time Pipe. She cried 439
and prayed and kissed this headdress before she 778
parted with it.

September 1, 1936. . . . Buffalo headdress 432
with white beads. 177

October 4, 1936. . . . Referring to buffalo headdress with feathers . . . Percy Creighton [212]
writes . . . I sent you a Matoki H.D. oldest one yet. . . . Owned by old woman—Awl Body. . . . It is called The Bulls Scalp Headdress, because in the first place it belonged to the Bulls, and that society died out, and it was taken into the Woman's Society as far back as I could trace it.

December 24, 1937. . . . Arrival from Little Dog [Percy Creighton] of 3rd buffalo headdress.

January 21, 1938. . . . Little Dog has found the other buffalo headdress.

January 4, 1939. . . . I have been offered two more buffalo headdresses, one of the Mahtokiks that we do not have, a Head Woman.

Mrs. Walters' notes indicate that the Motokiks had one main leader and two secondary leaders, who were the "pipe lighters." The "pipe lighter's outfit" was used to prepare the pipes of all the members. It certainly was a prized possession.

That smoking ceremonial bundle is, I think, rare valuable. My possession of it has been referred to repeatedly by the Indians as if it were decidedly important. I will try to get more information on the Bird Clan. It took over four years of effort and innumberable letters and presents to get a Bird Clan specimen, but now I have two. Same true of Snake Clan.

Ironically, the remaining pipe lighter among the Motokiks was Percy Creighton's wife.

Percy Creighton also obtained for Mrs. [435]
Walters one of the last ceremonial necklaces of the ancient Crow Carriers Society, a rattle, and information about the society's history, all for

[p. 83-A]

fifty dollars. And of the last remaining war shield 439
on the Blood Reserve, he wrote to Mrs. Walters: 778
"And he told me to send it to you if you want it 432 ●
for $125.00 and also he said the longer he owns
this shield, he'll raise the price on it. This man is 177
a rich man. He is not like the others who are hard [435]
up for money. I like to know if you are going to
buy any more articles or not." [212]

Indeed, the avid lady from California
bought many more articles. But these chronicles 439
suffice to show you what happened to many of 778
our ancient Medicines during the ten-year period
from 1936 to 1946. Sometime in that period, 177
Walters was stricken with an illness that kept her
from making any other visits to the Blood Reserve
beyond that first one. By 1946 she had lost her
interest in collecting our Old People's things, and
began circulating photos and descriptions of her
collection to museums and private buyers. Soon
her vast collection became scattered. Most of it [113]
was sold to the Denver Art Museum in Colorado.
There, an anthropologist identified and catalogued the material, with much technical detail and a distinct lack of Spirit. Nevertheless, it at least constitutes an effort to record available knowledge about those old things.

Unfortunately, some years ago the Denver Art Museum found it had more of Mrs. Walters's material than needed. As a result, much of it was traded to other institutions for their surplus material.

After Mrs. Walters, the next major collection 439
of our holy things went to the Glenbow-Alberta 778
Foundation, in Calgary, Alberta. Much of the 177
Blackfoot material was collected by Hugh Demp-
sey, the foundation's historical director. He was 114
well acquainted with many of our Old People,
who named him Putaina, or "Flying Chief."

In the Glenbow collection is a Medicine Pipe 439
Bundle that came from our People; it is described 778
in the museum's records as "the finest one."
Hugh Dempsey got it from Steve Oka, who ob- 177
tained it from his friend Mike Eagle Speaker. 432
114

[p. 83-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

When Steve Oka lost his wife, his outlook on life 439
became very gloomy and he no longer wished to 778
care for his Bundle. He approached Hugh Dempsey 177
and asked $600 for it, claiming he could easily 432●
get $500 if he took the Bundle to the South Piegan
Reserve and transferred it there. Glenbow 114
paid him only $300, with the proviso that he could buy back his Bundle within one year. Unfortunately, when Steve Oka decided to retrieve it, it was ten years too late.

Meanwhile, a new institution, the Alberta Provincial Museum in Edmonton, went about collecting our holy relics in a significantly less sensitive manner. For one thing, it encouraged the notion that all our religious material would eventually be lost or destroyed unless placed for safekeeping with the museum. Moreover, the museum promised that our People would always have access to their things. This was a convincing offer to our Old People, who were aware that Bundles and other sacred things were often stolen by relatives and sold for drinking money. To these Old People, the Alberta Provincial Museum not only offered protection from such loss, but also asked that the Bundles be transferred to an official of the museum in the traditional way, rather than merely sold. Owners who transferred their Bundles were paid quite handsomely for their cooperation.

Since members of the North Blackfoot Reserve still had many of their Medicine Bundles, the Alberta Provincial people concentrated their
first efforts on that reserve. As people gave up 778
their sacred Bundles to the museum, there soon 771
were no more Beaver Bundle or Medicine Pipe
ceremonies; the Horns Society and Motokiks no 178
longer held their annual ceremonies, and the Sun 182
Dance gatherings ended. Safekeeping the sacred Bundles did not preserve the religion, the Old People soon learned. Instead, the religion withered. Gone were the physical things that used to inspire religious feelings. The North Blackfoot People wandered about their reserve while the

[p.84-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

believed quite secure, since a number of our 778
People who respected its significance longed to be
its Keepers. But that isn't the way it turned out. 114

Just prior to the Sun Dance Encampment of 778
1968 we learned that our Long-Time Pipe was to 439
be sold. Its Keeper, John Red Crane, who had 177
only recently taken over the Bundle, had been 432
paid $3,000 by the Provincial Museum of Alberta
to transfer the Bundle to them at the encampment. 796
Red Crane invited only the members of his
own society, the Red Belts, to the transfer ceremony. [435]
Actually, they were paid to attend. [575]

The museum promised that the Bundle would be brought back to the reserve each year to be opened. However, since the Bundle had been transferred to an official of the museum, he became the Bundle's spiritual Owner, thereby giving the museum complete control over it. No ceremony could be held without this official at the place of honor reserved for the Bundles's Keeper. This is somewhat like having a family gathering in memory of a murdered grandparent and being required to give the seat of respect and honor to the murderer.

Shortly after John Red Crane sold the Long- [787]
Time Pipe to the museum, he had a strange
dream. The Spirit of the Pipe came to him, say- [761]
ing, "Just as you had no pity for me, I will have no pity for you." He told some of his friends about the dream and that he feared for his life. Not long after that, he was taken ill and placed in a hospital. He spent some time there, much of it in pain, before he died. When friends came to visit him during his final weeks, he was unable to speak to them—all he could do was hum parts of the songs for the Long-Time Pipe. He was not at the Bundle's last opening and he never saw the ancient Pipe again after he sold it.

A year after the transfer of the Long-Time Pipe, the museum decided that a complete record of the Bundle's ceremony should be made. Accordingly, $1,800 was spent to sponsor it; all the participants were paid a salary, like movie extras.

[p. 85-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

778
237

A few of the many personal Medicines at the Provincial Museum—skins of a weasel and a muskrat, along with a necklace with deer hooves and sacred bags.

The museum filmed, taped, and photographed the ceremony. Ironically, it may be the best record ever made of a Medicine Pipe ceremony. The salary motivated some people to attend their first ceremony in years. Others came to take this opportunity to again pray with our ancient, holy Pipe. And there were those who were so offended, they passed up this last opportunity altogether. 778 177 439 796 432 114

Our Old Man was at this last ceremony for the Long-Time Pipe. He had once led the ceremony for the Bundle's opening, and knew some of the special songs to be sung at the opening. The [784]

[p. 85-B]

114
museum-official Owner offered him $250 to lead 778
the ceremony. In refusing, the Old Man explained 177
the following to us: "Our holy Pipes are very 439
Powerful. It is very wrong to do something unholy with them. Leading such a ceremony for that 796
white man, and accepting his money for doing it, 432●
would be very unholy for me. No one can ever [784]
buy my holy life with money." The white man later told people that the Old Man was incompetent and could not have led the ceremony anyway. He eventually recruited another old leader, Brown Chief Calf, to perform the ceremony.

One of the followers of our Old Ways who 778
was most upset by the sale of the Long-Time Pipe 177
was old Many Grey Horses. As a result of some 114
dreams, he and his wife paid a visit to the Pipe's official Keeper. This official recorded the visit and submitted it to his employers as an Ethnological Data Record. This is how it reads in the museum's files:

A Gift to a Medicine Pipe Bundle as a Result of a Visitation from a Supernatural Being

On October 9, 1968, I received as visitors, in my home at Cardston, Alberta, two Blood Indians, Mr. & Mrs. Many Grey Horses, who are current owners of a Medicine Pipe Bundle.

They explained to my wife, who acted as interpreter, that their visit was a serious one and not social. ✓

Mr. Many Grey Horses spoke first. He repri- [796]
manded my wife for not sitting with me during [581]
the recent transfer ceremony of the Long Time Medicine Pipe of which I was the recipient. He said, "When two people are married they must sit together in all holy ceremonies. This is blessing their marriage." He said in the old days, Mrs. Standing Alone, who represented my wife during this ceremony, would have been recognized as my wife. My wife explained that she does not participate in these ceremonies for fear of ridicule. Mr. Many Grey Horses said, "You must not be afraid of that. It is a holy ceremony."

My wife had the 3rd dream a year or so later 778 and in this dream the man came up to her and 787 said, "They have done a horrible thing to me. They have laid me out in the open glass case so 114 that people will come in and look at me, and my altar is left standing. Nobody comes to burn sweetgrass any more; and where I am sitting is not holy. Why did they take me away from my own country? It was my home; it is where I originated. It is where I wanted to be until the end."

My wife had the 4th dream a few months ago. In this dream the man came to her with you, and my wife saw the case with the Long Stem Pipe on display. The man said to her, pointing at you, "This is the man that took me. He must be very kind to me and if it so happened that somebody came and asked for me he must not refuse to let me go. I am left uncovered and that is what is making me very sad."

I am very surprised that my wife has had this dream because we never did own the Long Time Pipe. It must be very important or why should she keep having this dream? But it must be because we really believe in this religion and we live accordingly.

So we have come to offer this blanket so that [782] you can take it to Edmonton on your next trip and cover the Long Time Pipe with it. We would be very happy if you would say a few prayers for us and tell the bundle that we have given the blanket as a sacrifice to it.

I bought this blanket in the U.S. and it is the same type that is always used to cover Medicine Pipes.

Mr. Many Grey Horses was undecided as to whether we should take off the old blanket that covers the pipe and give it to him but Mrs. Many Grey Horses said no. She said to place the new blanket over the old one as it was obvious as a result of her dream that one covering was not sufficient.

Mr. Many Grey Horses owns the 4 original 778 *drums of the Long Time Medicine Pipe Bundle.* 534 *When John Red Crane had the Long Time Pipe* 432 *bundle transferred to him from Stephen Fox he* 114 *refused the transfer of the drums. Since the*

Bundle then had no drums, his friend, Frank 778
Cotton's father, gave him 2 drums and Red 534
Crane's father gave him 2 drums. These drums 432
are not part of the Bundle.

Stephen Fox, who owned the Long Time 114
Medicine Pipe before John Red Crane, still had the original drums, and after the transfer to Red Crane, when Red Crane refused the drums, he consulted Many Grey Horses as to what should be done with the drums since Red Crane had refused them. Many Grey Horses then purchased the drums from Stephen Fox.

Many Grey Horses explained why some 796
people will not attend the transfer ceremonies 432
sponsored by the Provincial Museum. He said
that they believe that the ceremony is holy and 778
that the tape recorder is receiving the prayers and 782
not the Creator. He said that when the bundle is 784
taken down the shaman [Medicine Man] smears
blood clots all over his body and then takes the 114
bundle down. He then stands and prays for the [302]
owner of the bundle, but the tape recorder is "sucking all the prayers" and the owner of the bundle who is being prayed for does not get the full benefit of the prayers and that is not right.

Three years later, in the spring of 1972, Sik- 778
skiAki and I, with a group of our Old People, 177
visited the Provincial Museum. Upon seeing our
ancient Pipe the Old People were moved, but 114
were also dismayed to see it hanging open inside a
glass case. The Bundle was not closed and the
donated blanket not only was not covering it, it
wasn't even there. Museum officials unlocked the [782]
case so that we could pray with the Bundle and leave offerings of tobacco in it. Then we asked them to close the Bundle and remove it from display. While they debated our request, they showed us the film of the Bundle's ceremony. Before we left, the museum people assured us that it would no longer be left lying open and that they were prepared to bring the Bundle back to our reserve for a ceremony at any time. This latter assurance was a surprise, because the white-man

[p.87-8]

Owner, who was no longer on the museum's staff, 778
had told everyone after he left that the museum 177
would no longer cooperate in honoring its claim 114
to make the Bundle available to our People. The
white-man Owner had also claimed that all museum materials and papers had become classified
to outsiders, including himself.

Although we were pleased to learn we could have the Bundle for ceremonies, we nevertheless began discussing the possibility of taking the Bundle back to the reserve permanently, and selecting a member to act as "new Keeper," or even placing it in the charge of the tribe as a whole. For as we since learned, the former museum official, having divested himself of any responsibility to our artifacts, had been selling our Bundles at even higher prices to collectors of Indian relics. Here is an account of one of his more recent transactions:

This story involves our uncle, Atsitsina, one 778
of our favorite companions. He enjoys staying
with us and teaching us the many things that he 432 ●
knows of our Old Ways. Atsitsina was Keeper of
two Medicine Pipe Bundles. One was owned before him by his long-gone father, Sun Chief, or
Eagle Plume. Atsitsina transferred this sacred
Bundle just a few years ago to a young man
named Harrison Black Plume. His father, Bob [795]
Black Plume, was a leader of our holy ceremonies
until recently, when he gave up our Old Ways for
the way of the Full Gospel Church. Young Black [782]
Plume had vowed to take the Bundle during a
family illness, so our uncle did not withhold it.
Since Black Plume had little to give in the way of
material exchange, Atsitsina offered him the Bundle and told him he would take it back at a later
time, after the vow had been fully completed.
Meanwhile, the white-man official had already [177]
offered Atsitsina a tempting amount of cash for
the Bundle. When Atsitsina gave young Black [439]
Plume the Bundle, he warned him that under no
condition was he to "give the Pipe to that white
man." Black Plume gladly acknowledged he
would not.

[p. 88-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Some time after Atsitsina expected that 778
Black Plume had completed his vows, he went to 432●
see him about having the Bundle transferred in 177
return. But Black Plume no longer had the Bun-
dle. Desperate for cash, he had "pawned" it for 439
$900 to the white man. The white man told Black
Plume that if the Pipe were not reclaimed within [435]
a certain period, he would arrange a ceremony to have it transferred to him, and then make additional payments to Black Plume. The $900 was less than cash value of the horses, blankets, and other goods our People usually pay for the privilege of having such a Bundle. So our uncle put up the $900 and instructed Black Plume to reclaim it.

A short time before all this happened, a Seattle collector of Indian artifacts had been about to pay a South Piegan Owner $4,000 for his ancient Medicine Pipe. The white man had dissuaded this wealthy collector from the purchase, advising him that the Piegan Bundle was "not authentic." This was not true. He had added that a genuine Medicine Pipe would soon be available.

So when young Black Plume went to reclaim the Bundle, the white man told him he had taken it to the Alberta Provincial Museum for safekeeping. A few days later, Black Plume insisted on the return of the Bundle. This time, the white man told him the Bundle had been sent to the National Museum in Ottawa, and that it would take some time to have it returned from there. We checked with both museums, and, as we suspected, neither had ever heard of this Bundle.

After much investigation and many questions (a white friend from Montana and even our uncle directly questioned the white man), and after many more evasive answers and lies, we finally learned for a fact that the Bundle had been sold to the wealthy Seattle collector.

Atsitsina considered taking legal action to retrieve the Bundle. But our People have rarely succeeded in legal situations. Most of us feel the Bundle is lost, and that all those who were involved in losing it will suffer.

[p. 88-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

793
291
302

Ki-soum, or "Sun," the holy man who was also called Moon. (Glenbow Archives)

counting, they would sometimes mix up their songs to confuse the counter.] Running Wolf and Old Moon have been for years the only two I-O-Keeme in this tribe. [This statement depends on one's definition of Beaver Man. There were then a number of Blood men who knew Beaver Bundle songs and were learning to lead the ceremonies.] Last summer "Three Bulls" purchased a third outfit from a Blackfoot but during last Winter "Old Moon" sold his to a S. Pegan [South Piegan]. These transfers are made by a payment of horses, and a ceremony of installment as is made in all religious regalia so acquired and disposed of. An Indian buys the regalia in fulfillment of a vow or promise made in time of sickness. [This transfer of Beaver Bundles is thought to

793
796
778
[533]
[432] ●
[782]
793
778
425

[p.91-B]

BUNDLE CONTENTS

As Beaver Bundles were most sacred and scarce, 778
one can imagine that collector Mrs. Walters was most interested in acquiring them. Here is what she says about them in her notes:

> *The beaver bundle seems to serve general* 778
> *rather than specific purposes. Yet anyone in* 182
> *trouble may make a vow to give a berry soup or*
> *feast for the beaver men. At the proper time, a* [782]
> *horse, blankets or other property are given to the* [431]
> *owner of a bundle who carries the ceremony and*
> *all pray for him. The beaver bundle is not carried* [796]
> *to the war, but it is opened at tobacco planting time and again at the tobacco harvest and, furthermore, the ritual is connected with the Sun Dance bundle in whose ceremonials it performs an important part.*

And acquire them she did. Regarding one of 778
the Bundles she bought for $150, Mrs. Walters 432
includes the following comments by Creighton: [439]

> *"This bundle is not very well recorded because it* [435]
> *came from the North Piegans. It was known as the Elk Tongue bundle. It belonged to a man whose name was Elk Tongue who had it for years then it was transferred to a Blood man named Not Good, and he had it for ten years and transferred it to a man, Scraping White* [the Old Man's stepfather]*, and he had it several years and he gave it to Wolf Bull, he had it for eight years and Not Good wanted it back and he had it for sixteen years and now he sold it. . . . You can hang it on the wall."*

Also among Mrs. Walters's notes is an item- 778
ized contents list of what she identifies as "Second Beaver Bundle." She also had a "first" Beaver Bundle, which she got from our People. Elsewhere in her notes, she refers to this first one as

ceived it from a South Piegan family to whom 778
they had transferred a Natoas Bundle during a
Piegan Medicine Lodge ceremony. This Beaver [425]
Bundle was last opened by old Calling Last.

Calling Last was our last Beaver Man. He [793]
owned the other Beaver Bundle still with us in
1965. It had been transferred to him many years [425]
before by a Blood man named Calling at Night.
It was this Bundle that Calling Last sold to the [439]
Alberta Provincial Museum, and the one used in
the transfer ceremony the museum recorded. [432]

Although our People find it difficult to pray [422]
sincerely and communicate with the Spirit World
in the presence of such physical distractions as
cameras and nonbelieving persons, perhaps the 778
Old People permitted this filming and recording 796
because they were told that without such a rec- 177
ord, young Bloods might never again see Beaver 829
Bundle and Medicine Pipe ceremonies performed
properly.

In justifying the filming, Calling Last told the People, "The white men bought the Bundle. It's theirs. It belongs to them, if they want to take pictures."

Understandably, this recording of the museum's is regarded with mixed feelings by our People. Although it was simple for the recorder to pick up the words of the ritual, and later for someone to translate and write them down, how could a machine possibly absorb the true spiritual meanings of the ceremony? How could such a transcription really succeed, when there were numbers of outsiders, along with technicians adjusting lights, microphones, and cameras? And when the sacred place of honor, where the Beaver Man was supposed to sit, was occupied by an anthropologist representing the museum? Nevertheless, while this ceremony was almost totally without the Spirit of life in harmony with nature, we are fortunate to have a complete record of it. As things turned out, it was the last Beaver Bundle ceremony ever celebrated. Calling Last died shortly after this.

[p.101-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

the new Horns came to see me already. They all 276
want new pipes. Could you help me make them?" 575

Each member of the Horns Society must have his own smoking pipe. It should be of our traditional style, with a black stone bowl. There are very few such pipes left among our People. Most of them have been buried with their owners [764]
or sold to collectors and museums. [432] ●

Atsitsina went on: "Used to be lots of men here that could make pipes, but not any more. 324
My dad made lots of pipes. All the time he 276
worked on one or two, when he wasn't busy doctoring or leading ceremonies. He used to get a [178]
good horse for just one pipe. I think he was the [435]
last one that made pipes in the really old way [using the elements of hot and cold to chip the stone into shape]. I never learned how to do it that way. Only way I can make them is with a [412]
hacksaw and a file and a hand drill."

I saw evidence of Atsitsina's skill and popularity as a pipemaker when he and I were visiting [484]
the Provincial Museum in Edmonton. Eric

[p.107-A]

1947. He had owned Medicine Pipes nine times 324
during his lifetime. Ewers describes his pipemaking 276
methods:

> *Although the Blood Indian, Iron, was reputed to have been 89 years of age in 1947, he*
> *told me that he had been making pipes for only 2*
> *years. He used a black stone which he picked up* [135]
> *here and there beside rivers and which did not require blackening.*
>
> *Iron took the stone home and boiled it for a short time to soften it. He worked at his pipemaking for short, intermittent periods, sometimes laying the work aside for several days before returning to it. Before each work session he boiled the*
> *stone. He drilled the bowl and the stem hole before* [412]
> *shaping the outside with a file. He removed the file marks with commercial sandpaper.*
>
> *Iron's stone appeared to be inferior and his* [184]
> *method of boiling it to soften it was unique among modern Blackfoot pipemakers. He acknowledged that if he boiled it too long it would crack. He also was afraid to exert much pressure in drilling holes for fear of cracking the stone. His pipes were relatively small in size.*

Pipemakers went to different places to gather the materials with which to blacken their completed
bowls. Because a man was once seen blackening [103]
his new pipe bowl on top of a hill about five miles southeast of Cardston, that hill is still known as Burning the Pipe Black on Top of the Hill.

In recent years a few people have tried to [432]
make copies of old-time pipes to sell to collectors
of such things. Some examples I have seen would [439]
have been used for slingshot ammunition by the [178]
Old People. One maker, whose lack of skill was outrageous, admitted using black shoe polish in an effort to duplicate the old-style black gloss. He hurriedly produced it to satisfy an American collector who was in the area to buy "relics from the Old People."

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When it was time for Atsitsina to leave, he 123
apparently forgot his fears of being tapped by the [575]
new Horns members. I walked him to the door, where a relative was waiting to take him by car. He left openly, saying he would return in a few days to take me to another part of the Belly Buttes to collect some plants and teach me about them.

As he left, Atsitsina said, "I sure would like 778
to pray with my old Pipe when they open it. You 782
go and pray for me, huh?" He was referring to the Backside-to-the-Fire Medicine Pipe, which he had
twice kept in the past. We knew that Jim Twig, [432]
the present Owner, was going to transfer it after [575]
the opening ceremony, but Atsitsina was again afraid to be so easily accessible to recruiters for the Horns.

Sun had burned off most of the fog by this 575
time. We could see the Motokiks walking in a line toward the east, just outside the camp circle.

MOTOKIKS: THE WOMEN'S SOCIETY

The Motokiks had put up their lodge on the eve- 575
ning of the third night in camp. It was not big. 346
They had begun to put it up as we started our supper, and as we finished, so were they. Their lodge looked like a small Medicine Lodge without any coverings or boughs. The framework was covered with tipi linings around the sides and tipi covers over the top. A long tipi pole, donated by someone in camp, was used as the Center Pole, and stuck out far above the top of the lodge. Just above where the roof poles intersected the Center Pole, a small stick was tied firmly, crosswise and at a slight angle, making it look something like a Christian cross. Its purpose is not known and is probably one of the secret traditions of the society.

The Horns and the Motokiks are companion 575
societies. Some parts of their ceremonies are pub-

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

some person lays hold of them and leads them to 575
a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in 796
*the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and
walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.*

Like the horns and other societies the mem- 575
bers sell, or transfer to others, usually all transfer- 796
ring at the same time. The ceremony seems to 432
*require four days and nights, during which time
they are not supposed to sleep. . . . It is said* [513]
that the entire night is given to hilarity. Joke and [522]
*jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and act
out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll
up blankets like medicine bundles and hold mock
ceremonies. . . .*

The fees for buying a membership are a [424]
horse, a gun, and other property. The most ex- [435]
*pensive place is that of the tipi pole owner for
which twelve horses and a proportionate amount
of other property are required.*

Shortly after Atsitsina left, we went outside 575
our tipi to watch the Motokiks. They were al- 796
ready beyond the camp circle, walking in single 782
file from east to west, along the south side of the
circle. We saw Mokakin take down a spare lodge
pole leaning against the back of his tipi. An offer- [824]
ing made of willow sticks, sage grass, and cloth
was fastened to the pole. Mokakin had put the
offering on the lodge pole before Sunrise, so that
Sun could see where it came from.

The women sat down on the ground outside
the south end of camp. Mokakin untied the [276]
offering and gave it to his son Charlie, along with
a filled pipe and a bunch of sage grass, to bring to
the women. Charlie presented these things to one
of the members and knelt before her to receive
her prayer. Then she lit the pipe and passed it
around. After it was smoked out, she returned it
to him. The women got up and, single file, moved

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Some children were playing in the bushes by 773
the camp. One of the children was a minipoka. 539
His father was the head chief. Everybody was afraid of this chief; sometimes he got a bad temper, but he was Powerful and a good leader.

Oki, the kids were playing in the bushes. The minipoka had to go to the toilet, so he went away from the kids where they could not see him. But the other kids, they wanted to know how a minipoka would take care of himself. So they watched through the bushes. When they looked at him,
their eyes got big. What fell to the ground was a [301]
big pile of pretty shells, the kind Medicine Pipe [237]
Owners wear as a necklace. The children ran out from the bushes and grabbed the shells. They were so excited that they knocked the minipoka down and took all the shells. When he got up, all the shells were gone and the kids ran off through the bushes with them, singing and laughing.

The minipoka started to cry and ran home to his father. When he told his father what happened the chief became angry. Right away, he gave the order for camp to be moved and for no one to call home their children. The People had to do what the chief ordered. By the time the children were finished playing and got back to the camp, all they saw were the smoldering fires where their tipis used to be. They all sat down and cried because they knew that they had been abandoned.

One of our Old People was raised as a mini- 593
poka by his influential father. His parents located 858
a young girl from a good family to become his
wife, even though he was still a boy and living at [584]
home. He became a member of the Horns Society [575]
when he was only about twelve or fourteen,
which is very unusual. The Old People say that [561]
even now he still acts like a minipoka and likes to [157]
see things done to suit himself.

While we talked about minipokaiks, Ponah 593
admitted she had been the minipoka of her 858
father, Iron. She said that they had a painted 857
Medicine Tipi transferred to her. When I asked [852]

[178]
[432]●
[345]

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what a little girl did with a painted lodge of her 593
own, she told us: 858

"It wasn't a big tipi. It was just a little tipi
for kids to play in. My mother made it for me to 857
play in with my friends. My sister and I, we went 345
to boarding school. My mother, she put up the
tipi right by the school, and nobody bothered it.
She put in a panichtan [lining], and she tanned [237]
some little animals and put the skins around the
inside for rugs. She even made little bags from [415]
rawhide [parfleches] and put them all around the
inside. When my mother came to visit us, she
stopped on the way at Long-Nosed Crow's [Wilson's
Trading Post] and bought a lot of groceries.
Then she told me to invite all my friends to the
tipi and we had a big dinner. Even the nuns
sometimes came over to sit in the little tipi
with us."

Ponah said that the design painted on the 593
tipi had been dreamed of by somebody and was 858
actually transferred to her. The tipi was painted 852
yellow, with four lines of stars going from top to 787
bottom, one line at each of the four directions. 532

Our conversation wandered on to other
things, and of course, Mokakin told us more old 432 ●
Napi stories.

539
773

ANOTHER NAPI ADVENTURE

One time, Napi came out from a forest and found a bunch of Gophers playing in a meadow. This was how they played: One of them would lie down in an old fireplace and the others would cover him up with earth and then build a fire on top of him. As soon as the fire got too hot, the buried one would call out, "Tsst, Tsst!" Napi asked the Gophers if he could play, and they told him he could. So he lay down in the fireplace and the Gophers put earth over him and built a fire on top of it. As he got warm, he called out, "Tsst, Tsst!" The Gophers uncovered him. Soon it was Napi's turn to build the fire.

Napi said to the Gophers, "I think it's easier

[p. 120-B]

source of food. A whistle makes the sounds for 778
the winds and all the birds that fly in the air. 825
Pouches of sacred Earth paints represent our 237
Earth Mother. Sweet pine needles, used for in-
cense, speak for all that is sweet and holy. The [824]
tanned elk hide wrapped around the Bundle testi- [534]
fies to the majesty of that animal. The tanned
skin of a black bear, wrapped around the elk hide, [823]
represents the physical power of bears and gives
the Bundle strength and protection. A plaid shawl
draped over all of these things gives the Bundle
privacy and symbolizes the Power of the changes
that have come to our Old Ways.

Sacred Pipes are smoked only during Medi- 778
cine Lodge ceremonies, and not at any other time 276
—not even during Medicine Pipe Bundle-Open- 796
ing ceremonies. When taken out of their Bun-
dles, they are not smoked but danced with. [535]
Dancing is so important that many refer to our
Medicine Pipe ceremonies by the Blackfoot term
Ninamska-Paskan—Medicine Pipe Dance.

In the Old Days, when the People lived together in lodges, the Medicine Pipe Bundle was opened on the first day Thunder was heard in the spring. When this happened and it was confirmed in the home of a Bundle Owner that the opening ceremony would be held, the wife immediately began preparing the berry soup. Owner and wife would then change into their best dress and straighten out their lodge, which soon filled with relatives, friends, and all nearby Medicine Pipe People. If the Owner was not properly educated to open his own Bundle, he asked a former Owner to lead the ceremony.

Each Bundle had its own group of followers. 778
Those who formerly owned the Bundle always at-
tended all its ceremonies. Close relatives of the [425]
present Owner came, and the ones who helped
with the transfer payments were given spiritual
rights to parts of the Bundle. Others came be-
cause they were interested in the special Powers
of the Bundle.

In the Old Days, members of a band trans- 778
432

[p.125-B]

ferred ownership within their own group. When 778
the People moved on to the reserve, they settled 432●
there according to their bands. Thus, some of our
~~Old People~~ knew quite well the histories of the [657]
Bundles among their own band, while they knew [361]
little about other Bundles.

Bundles are the spiritual property of their 778
Keeper, or Owner. Our People used to live with 42
the fact that owned property could be reclaimed
at any time by nature, through loss, damage, or
death. They believed that owning something
meant caring for it until it was claimed by a
stronger Power.

TWO MEDICINE PIPE TRANSFERS: 1890s

Many firsthand narratives of long-ago Medicine 778
Pipe ceremonies are available among the Piegans, 796
but not so many among our People, the Bloods.
The oldest record among the few comes from the
papers of Robert Wilson in the 1890s. Those who [178]
took part in the ceremonies he witnessed still
practiced their Old Ways daily, but even then
were no longer totally dependent on nature in
their way of life, so that they could not fully relate to the representations of nature inside the
Bundles.

Although Wilson was not always aware of [114]
the meanings of the symbols he saw, I will pass on [127]
to you what he wrote.

Sacred pipe holders are easily distinguished 793
by the free use of red paint on their person, having 778
it rubbed all over their white blanket or coat [531]
and also over the leggings and moccasins, their
wives painted the same. A pipe-holder wears upon [301]
each wrist a blue bead tied with a buckskin
strand, (the wife also; or, if man does not wear
beads upon wrist, he will have one bead and a
shell strung upon a buckskin string on his neck.)
[The Owner and his wife wear both necklaces [796]
and wristlets during the ceremony.] Children [852]
who have been painted during [the] ceremony of
transfer also wear the beads.

[P.126-A]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

who have been painted during [the] ceremony of 000
transfer also wear the beads. It sometimes happens 778
that an Indian does not keep the pipe the
alotted four years [as was common for some
Medicine Pipe Bundles and society memberships
in the Old Days]; a sick person's relatives may ask
him for it inside of a few months of his possession
of it.

A sick man often declares that he will take [782]
[the] pipe if he recovers, or will take it to recover.
Upon [such] declaration he sometimes [755]
goes to lodge of owner, and pipe is unrolled and
laid against his shoulders, chest, head, and
wounds, with prayers all over his person. He takes
it and pressing his lips against [the] pipe, prays
for health.

The Sacred pipe has always a recognized 778
value in horses, and the candidate knows how 432
many cayuses [ponies] were paid by present
owner of pipe and that he must pay a like number.
[To pay less] would be considered an insult [626]
to the pipe and would deserve punishment in
shape of bad luck.

Value of pipes run from 3 to 25 horses 778
[amongst] the Bloods; these horses need not all 432
be paid by the candidate; his friends, relatives and 426
comrades may help him by donating a horse or [435]
two and there are generally enough willing ones
for two reasons, e.g., a person paying one horse at [852]
a friend's initiation is entitled to have a child
decorated at the ceremony of transferring the
pipe and said child will bear more or less of a
charmed life. And when his friend disposes of the
pipe at end of four years or longer, his horse can
be returned to him out of those paid by last purchaser.
It is, therefore, a mutual advantage, for
without friends so inclined the intending pipe
holders might not be able to get the high priced
article. [Wilson's statements are basically correct, [114]
but the helping friends and relatives were also
motivated to have the Bundle in their area of the
camps. The requirement for "payments" did not 778
limit Bundle ownership to "wealthy" persons in 432
[555]

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

the Old Days, only to ambitious persons. Anyone 778
not wealthy but who had enough ambition and 432
spiritual power could go out on a raid and bring [555]
home enough horses to take care of the physical sacrifice.]

"High sleeper" paid sixteen out of his twenty-one 778
horses. He had lost all his relations but one 432
and bought the pipe to change his luck. I wit-nessed 796
the ceremony of his purchase which took
place in the lodge of Crop Eared Wolf [the [782]
adopted son of Head Chief Red Crow, who later [435]
became his successor], who had owned the pipe for ten years. I also was present at the transfer of a pipe from "Roach Mane" [the young-man name of Ponah's father, Iron] to "Brave Bear."

The following description I write after being present at four Thunder dances:

Inside the lodge, directly opposite the entrance, [353]
is a space occupied by a cushion to receive the pipe which was now outside, where it always stands in fine weather during the day, leaning on
two sticks against the west side of the lodge. On [533]
each side of this space and extending around the [534]
lodge to the entrance in two half circles are arranged blankets and quilts for seats for the visitors who soon begin to arrive; the host (who is seated with the cushion at his left hand) tells each person where to sit; four or five men, who are good singers and know the songs used on these occasions, are told to take their places on the left of the entrance and are given tom-toms.

The Master of Ceremonies, or Priest, of the [793]
occasion, who is never the host but someone who knows all the songs of the pipe, of which there are a great many, and who is well versed in the mystic rites or functions in connection with the sacred pipes, takes his place next to space for pipe, sitting opposite to host, the cushion space being between them.

In front of cushion, between it and the fire, is a square hole dug in the ground, size about 9 or 10 inches square, and two or three inches deep; its sides being at right angles with the cushion. Upon

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

entrance the assembled guests sit smoking and 778
chatting upon all topics. 432

Host's wife presently brings in the Sacred 796
bundle and ties it to the lodge poles directly over the cushion. Bundle is covered with a red shawl and consists of a Bear Skin rolled around twenty or so skins of animals and birds, some of the latter stuffed, among which is an owl. In centre of bundle are several red cloth bags containing the Sacred Pipe, its two stems, a long wooden whistle, rattles and a number of articles the uses of which I will presently show.

Between the cushion and hole before men- [782]
tioned is now placed a live coal from the fire. The
priest places an open bag of sweet grass [actually, [824]
sweet pine] on the ground and taking right hand of host in his right hand, he guides host's hand to bag and extracts therefrom a pinch of the powderized sweet grass, while both are muttering a prayer. [The incense] is sprinkled upon the coal of fire with a spiral motion of the hand, causing a sweet odour to fill the lodge. The bundle is now taken down and waved towards this altar four times before it is set down upon the cushion.
[Wilson fails to mention that the series of Medi- [533]
cine Pipe songs is begun before the incense is made. The singing goes on while the Bundle is taken down and placed between its Owner and the leader of the ceremony.]

Bowls and pans are now produced and the 779
squaws bring in pails of berry broth and rice, 432
which is served unto all present, myself among 796
the rest, though the stuff was not very tempting 782
to look at. I managed to make away with part of
my share as my right hand neighbor said it was [262]
not good to refuse. Before eating, the oldest man [576]
present picked one berry from his dish and holding it above at arm's length began an elaborate prayer to the sun thanking him for past blessings, for his old age (70 years), and soliciting future favours for himself and host. He had hardly started before the other old men followed suit and before they had concluded, every male [and

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

female] in the lodge was praying in the same man- 778
ner, some to the sun, some to the moon, birds, 432
stars, eniskims [Iniskims, or sacred stones] and all 796
their numerous deities, each person concluding his
prayer by placing the morsel, which he had been 782
holding up, upon the ground and rubbing it through the grass into the earth saying: "Earth persons, I give this to you." After they had done all this, the host held up some of his food and prayed as follows:

"Oh Sun! Oh Sun, pity me, Oh Sun, pity me, pity me that my children may grow up to be men and women. Pity me, that I may be a good man with a good heart, that my horses may increase and not get stolen. Pity me, that I may not die when sick, that I may escape all danger when I travel from home. I am happy to be able to see my family around me. I am glad to be able to look at my horses, I am glad that I can move around this summer in health, I am glad that things are as they are and hope that I am to be so blessed a long time."

[At this point the food was eaten, although Wilson does not mention this.]

Priest now takes tallow and red paint and 796
paints his hands and face, holds his hands over 778
incense and passes them over his legs, breast, arms 432
and head [actually, in reverse order, symbolically [302]
cleansing the evil downward from his body],
praying as he does so. Host does same, but does [782]
not paint himself. They now sing a number of [783]
songs, making gestures as they sing. . . . Priest [533]
now paints the South half of the square hole in the ground Red, and the North half, Black. Priest and host and wife now proceed to unroll the pipe by untying the numerous strings; each string as it becomes disengaged is waved towards incense and
then put away. From bundle is taken four [237]
plumes, two are painted Red and two Black. Host now takes a pointed red stick and makes three feints to stick it into the ground at S.E. corner of hole and at the fourth does so, making a little hole in which a Red plume is placed. Same is

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony 1890's]

done at S.W. where the other red plume is 796
placed, then N.W. and N.E. corners [in] which 432
are stuck the black plumes. Two small willow 778
sticks painted red, about 2 feet long, [are] stuck [824]
upright in the ground in front of and close to the
bundle, a third is tied across horizontally near
tops of them, four waves being made to altar be-
fore each stick is placed in position. The mouth [237]
ends of the two pipestems are placed resting
upon this crosspiece, a stuffed owl is laid with it,
head also upon the crosspiece end of long wood.
A quantity of tobacco, generally a 3 lb. carrot of [276]
H.B.C. [Hudson's Bay Company, which was
often supplied by Wilson from his trading post] [439]
tobacco, is now divided up by host and a piece [782]
given to priest who, breaking off a small particle,
holds it out in front of him and, often giving a
short prayer to the earth, pushes the balance into
the earth. One of the old men present counts a [555]
couple of coups which are loudly applauded. Four
children, or as many as the host has, or any child [302]
relative whose parents wish it to be painted, are [852]
brought forward, and painted by Priest. All is now
ready for dancing which is started by Priest, who 796
takes some article from the Sacred Outfit, gen- 432
erally the fancy stem of pipe, and dances around 778
the lodge and out through the entrance. He often 535
has in one hand this whistle which he points up [534]
to the sun and earth, blowing as he dances, and
shaking the pipestem which has a great many
bells on it. After turning around outside he [782]
dances back through lodge and having danced
four times, hands articles to host, who prays to
them [or with them, as I have said] and puts
them in their place. After some chatting, the [533]
drums start up again and sing three songs and at
the fourth, one of those men present who have
owned a Sacred Pipe gets up and dances around
the lodge, dancing towards the pipe three times,
holding out his hands as if he would take it; the
fourth time he takes it and often one of the other
articles and dances with them in his hands. Each
man dances to four songs [actually one song, sung

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

four times], then gives the articles to host as be- 796
fore. Sometimes 2 or 3 will be on the floor at 432
same time. One may have owl, or rattle alone; 778
they can suit themselves and take whatever they 535
like. [Not exactly. Past and present Medicine [422]
Pipe Owners may select anything from the Bundle, but some persons who have never owned a Bundle may have had the rights to certain objects within a Bundle transferred to them. They can then always dance with those objects but not with
any other.] When using the whistle they begin at [533]
a high note and descend the scale with a continu- [534]
ous toot, toot, toot.

In making the first three feints to take the [201]
pipe, the dancer often retreats, dancing back around the lodge making the sign to kill (as if
stabbing with a knife). [This preliminary dancing [178]
Wilson describes is no longer done at all. Today, when a man gets up to dance he takes the selected object, prays, and dances four times.] They nearly all dance the same step in this ceremony, a slow, regular, vigorous jump with both of the knees bent; the tunes and songs used upon these occasions are not sung at any other time; the step in dancing is also peculiar to Calumet [Pipe] men. There is a preference shown for the owl, which is most often taken up and almost always prayed to by the dancer as he takes it in his hands, or the host when it is handed back to him.
[According to our traditions, the dead come back [825]
to visit the living in the bodies of owls. For that
reason owls are respected as being very Powerful, [775]
and many participants desire the spiritual
strength they get by dancing with one.] At one of 796
these dances, while one of the dancers had the 432
owl in his hands, I was amused to see a claw and 778
leg of the bird fall to the ground, at which all 787
present put on a very long face, thinking it a bad omen, and it is a strange fact that the owner of the pipe and host on that occasion died before the summer was out, his Calumet was buried with him, the stems lying on his breast. [Any accident that occurs during a sacred ceremony is con-

[p. 129-A]

sidered to be a bad sign. A piece falling from a 796
sacred object, an error made in the singing, a 432
rattle or drumstick dropped, or a person falling 778
down, particularly if caused by the negligence of 787
the participant, will cause the marked person to
immediately ask some old man to call out four [789]
brave deeds, in the hope that the old man's [555]
powers in times of danger will help prevent possible misfortune as a result of the accident.]

Sometimes a woman is allowed to take the 796
pipe at these dances and clumsily dances [this is a 432
gross interpretation of the smooth dancing done 778
by women; an ideal woman remains very dignified 535
during social occasions and does not dance with
the glamour and obvious enthusiasm shown by [562]
the men], facing a minute to each of the five [823]
points of the compass [actually, four]. There are generally some extra moves in the ceremony of unrolling the Calumet peculiar to each pipe; for instance in one case, before dancing, a squaw takes a drum stick and strikes two blows on each of the lodge poles that the entrance is between [the spiritual purpose of this to notify the sacred lodge that loud noise, in the form of drumming, is about to commence], in another case a forked stick is used to rest the head of the stuffed owl upon, this stick stuck upright between the other red willows.

The following narrative is also from Wilson's 796
notebook of the 1890s. He calls this story a 432
"Calumet Transfer." 778
[127]

When an Indian has once said that he will
take the Sacred Pipe, he must not fail to keep his [626]
promise, for he is sure to be visited with misfortune should he so trifle with the Sacred. Nowadays a man names the day that he will pay the horses and be initiated. Formerly, it was customary to leave that to the owner and priests who would take him by surprise the night before the transfer was due to take place. The pipe is unrolled with the same ceremony as in Thunder

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

Dance, and the assembled men spend the night 796
singing and feasting and dancing. At the first sign 432 ●
of daybreak five or six of them take the stem and 778
pipe and the owl and silently go to the lodge of
the sleeping candidate, taking with them a stroud
blanket or robe upon which they place the man.
Putting into his hands the stem and owl, they
then seize the corners of blanket and lift the man
bodily off the ground and carry him out and off to
the lodge of the owner of pipe where the ceremony
is to take place. They there deposit him
upon the right of the Sacred outfit, which [place]
is vacated by the host who takes very little part in
what follows. While they are carrying their prisoner
from one lodge to the other, a great deal of
shouting is done by themselves and those in the
other lodges. [This shouting is in the form of [554]
cheers honoring the candidate.] The candidate,
when seated, places the things he has been carrying
in their places. Singing and dancing is now
indulged in for about two hours, during which
the guests slip out one by one and go home and
wash and put on their good clothes, as they are
looking rather tough after the night's sleepless
feasting. Finally a couple of priests of the occasion [924]
chew sweet grass [again, sweet pine, the [261]
Medicine Pipe incense] and prepare to do the
decorating. A boy is decorated, his friends having [302]
paid two horses for the privilege. First a red ring [852]
is painted around the candidate's face and around
each wrist, and from there around to tips of
fingers; a spot is painted, one on each shoulder,
and feet are also painted red. Priest's hands are [292]
waved four times to incense before he does the [237]
painting; he now takes a sheep skin band, hair outside,
painted red and blue, and puts it on man's
head, hand waved four times to incense; a feather
is stuck through hair at top of head, from right to
left, and boy is fixed up same way. Some other
children are now painted.

The vendor's wives now paint candidate's wives and hold up a blanket, curtaining off that portion of the lodge where they sit and dress them completely in new clothes which they, the

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

vendor's wives, supply. Vendor's wives chew 796
sweetgrass while they are dressing others. When 778
they are through the blanket is taken down. The 432
candidate is dressed completely in a new suit of [824]
clothes by vendor; this is done before his wives [261]
are dressed. Each garment is waved four times to
incense before being put on. Candidate now gets [824]
up and, passing behind pipe with fire stick in
hand walks out, stepping on four bundles of sage
the first four steps. A painted white horse is waiting [231]
outside which he mounts, and there is handed [531]
him the fancy pipestem, which he holds in his
arms. A priest leads off the horse, singing, to [533]
candidate lodge which the latter enters [candidate
enters his lodge]; a squaw brings back the [534]
horse, and priest returns with stem and owl [to
vendor's lodge]; 2 Priests and 2 others go outside
[vendor's lodge] having in their hands both pipestems,
owl, rattle, and whistles, they stand in a
line and sing while the four drummers form another
line behind and they all move off, singing,
to lodge of candidate; front line dancing and singing
forwards and backwards, at times facing
around when they at last arrive at candidate's
lodge. Front line goes in, drummers at once return
[to vendor's lodge], candidate at once comes
out [from his own lodge] and, mounting horse
which had been brought around again, he comes
back to [vendor's] lodge and enters. As he enters,
the drummers all take hold of a common
pipestem and bow their heads low, still waiting,
until he passes in, when they lift their heads and
go to work at their drums.

Now there is dancing for an hour, very much [535]
like Thunder Dance, but more of it, there sometimes
being four up at once. Head bands and
feathers are taken off. A blanket is now held up as [852]
a curtain, closing from view the man and boy.
The two priests take the front locks of hair of [302]
each [the man and boy] and form a top-knot by [237]
braiding out one braid in front and doubling it
back upon itself and tying it with buckskin; a long
strip of otter skin is wrapped around [the braided
lock], making a long roll sticking out over the

[p.130-B]

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

face; while this is being done a third priest stands 796
outside holding the fancy stem towards middle of 778
blanket to time of slow beat of drums. 432 ●

A blue bead and shell is tied on each top [302]
knot; the priests again chew sweetgrass, spit on [237]
their hands and rub them over heads of man and
boy after they have fixed the hair; head bands and [301]
feathers are now replaced. One priest now gets up [824]
with man and boy, man with fancy stem in his
hand; all face South then West then North and [261]
dance a minute to slow time in each direction, at [535]
which there is great applause. [In the form of [152]
shouts and war cries. We clap our hands only to
accent our talking, not to applaud. The "applause" is to cheer the new Medicine Pipe Man [554]
during his first ceremonial act as Owner.]
Women do same, that is, candidate's wives and
two other women. All morning, relations of candidate have been bringing in household articles [431]
such as dishes, fry pans, cups and saucers, pails, also blankets, guns, and etc. and piling them up at the entrance. These are now distributed by vendor and his wife to their relations, probably giving those who contributed when they were buying the pipe years ago.

Pipe is now rolled up and the newly made medicine man's wife carries it home on her back.

Wilson learned the Ways of the Medicine 796
Pipe ceremonies quite well, although, as indi- 778
cated by my parenthetical comments, he occasionally made a mistake, or misinterpreted. The [114]
following story, told by our uncle, Atsitsina, illustrates how well Wilson knew these ceremonies. [115]
The story takes place during the Sun Dance Encampment at the Belly Buttes in the 1920s.

I will tell you the story of Long-Nosed Crow. 796
His name was Bob Wilson. He was just like an 778
Indian. He spoke the Blackfoot language just as I 177
am speaking it now. Everybody knew him. He knew me and my father very well.

One time, when this big-shot from the States called Schultz [James Willard Schultz, the author

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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BACKSIDE-TO-THE-FIRE PIPE OPENING CEREMONY: 1972

NinnaOnesta—Albert Chief Calf—was the crier 778
on the morning of the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe 796
ceremony. He came around early, announcing 203
that Jim Twig was going to open his Medicine
Pipe. Not yet having fulfilled his annual obligation
of having the Bundle opened, Jim Twig
wanted to do this before starting the Bundle's
transfer ceremony. All past and present Medicine
Pipe Owners were invited, according to custom.

NinnaOnesta wore a black cowboy hat with a [291]
red-dyed eagle plume fastened to one side, and a
pink scarf around his neck. He had on his ever- [416]
present sunglasses, and in one hand carried a [481]
cane. At the age of seventy-seven he was still a
sturdy and strong-voiced man. Here is what we
heard him say: "Hurry up! Hurry up, all of you
people who want to see the Medicine Pipe
Dance. [Jim Twig] is going to open his sacred
Pipe today. He wants to get started early so that
we can finish before dark. Oki, all of you Akai-Namskaniks
[past Medicine Pipe Men], all of
you Ninamskaniks, you are invited. Bring your
bowls. All of you people who want to see the
ceremony, you are invited to come to the yellow-painted
Elk Tipi. Hurry Up!"

We got up and made our incense. SikskiAki 778
no longer took our Bundle outside to hang over 782
the doorway during the day. The Old Man told
us that there were too many casual visitors now in [123]
camp who had no idea how to show proper respect
for such a sacred thing. As we made our
incense, we prayed for our success with the Spirit
of the Old Ways; we dwelled on good thoughts
about our own life.

We were about to eat breakfast when Mrs. 778
Stabs Down came in. Our Bundle had last been
kept by her and her husband for the benefit of
their children, who had been initiated as Owners.
By tradition she is now our "Mother." She had [601]
[432]
[p. 132-A] [422]

[Backside-To-The Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

come to ask for some sacred yellow paint, knowing 778
that I use that color as part of my personal
Medicine. She said that the old Horns wished to [432]
buy some for use in the upcoming Horns Society [422]
transfer. Her husband was giving up his member-
ship, while her brother was going to join. I told [575]
her I would donate some to the Horns. Then she [431]
declined our invitation to visit and quickly left to
help the Horns in their many preparations for the
transfer.

We had just finished breakfast when an- 778
other visitor arrived. This time it was Ksachkom 426
("Earth"), or Fred Eagle Plume, Atsitsina's
brother, who, in his seventies, was the oldest man [575]
to become a new member of the Horns during this [782]
transfer. He was joining to fulfill a vow that he
had made some time ago. He came to borrow my
pipe bag. He said that Atsitsina had loaned him a
pipe, but that he must have a bag for it during
the transfer ceremonies. I said nothing, knowing
that tradition would not allow me to ask for the
bag's return if he did not bring it back on his
own. The soft deerhide from which the bag is [415]
made was the last one tanned long ago by my
"grandma" who lives in the south. I could never
replace it. In addition, the bag is beautifully deco-
rated with SikskiAki's beadwork. Since I did not [576]
care to lend it, I remained silent to his request.
Knowing the reason for my silence, Ksachkom explained
that a new bag was being made for him
by some woman relative, and that he only needed
mine because his was not yet ready for use. Then
I agreed to let him use the bag. It is a custom that
Medicine Pipe Owners do not lend out their
belongings, but give them away if someone is
really in need of them. If they do lend anything,
then it must be returned within four days. After
that they can neither ask for it nor expect to take
it back if it is brought.

Sun let us know early that it was going to be 796
very hot that day. It is easier for the body to sit 292
through a long ceremony in the spring, after the 778
first sound of Thunder, than in the middle of a

Stem. He gave thanks to be able to pray with his 796
old Pipe once again and he asked for strength so 778
that he could pray with it again next year. He 782
asked the Spirits of the sacred Bundle to continue sharing their power with him and his family and all past and future Keepers of the Bundle.

After the prayer, Mokakin hummed a few 796
notes and the drummers took up the rhythm of 778
the song. Like other Pipe Owners, Mokakin had 535
his own special song for dancing; these songs [533]
come either from Teachers or from dreams.

Mokakin is a dramatic and spirited dancer. His basic style is to bend forward at the hips, loosen his knees, then take short jumps with both feet. With each jump forward, he turns a bit to the right or left. His left hand rests on his hip, while his right hand is extended before him, holding the sacred Stem.

As he danced by the others, he held the Stem [782]
towards them, giving its blessing. Some responded by reaching out with their hands, symbolically grasping the Holy Power, then holding it to their hearts.

Meanwhile, Ponah bounced enthusiastically to her husband's dancing, holding a corner of her shawl in each hand of her outstretched arms. As she bounced, she turned from side to side, and occasionally burst forth in the high-pitched tremolo of a woman's victory cry.

Each time the singing stopped, Mokakin straightened up, waiting for the next song. As he waited he caressed the Pipe and straightened out any tangled ribbons and feathers.

When the fourth song was over, Mokakin 796
walked over to the doorway of the main tipi and 778
handed the sacred Stem to his daugher, Theresa.
Because the topknot from this Bundle had once [422]
been transferred to her while her parents were the [432]
Bundle's Owners, she had the right to handle the
Pipe. Mokakin reached into his pocket and took [431]
out a couple of dollar bills, which he handed to
two male visitors. This was to show his generosity
and inspire good thoughts in the recipients.

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Later on the Fourth Day

Back at our tipi, we put away our blankets and 312
other things, lay down in the shade, fanned our-
selves, and drank lots of cool water. Getting water
to the Sun Dance Camps used to be quite a chore
in the Old Days, as there was no-accessible water
source in the Belly Buttes. Nowadays, a truck
with a full tank of cold well-water drives around
the camp circle every evening so that people can
fill their containers.

It was a clear, calm, middle-of-summer day; 575
the temperature must have been at least a hun- 432
dred. We heard someone singing. The song was
to honor the wife of Harry Shade, about to be- [533]
come a member of the Motokiks. Although it is [554]
traditional for this society to transfer member- [782]
ships as a group, a woman may make a vow to
join if she learns that a present member is willing [422]
to part with her Society Bundle. As in this case, [424]
Noyiss, the wife of Henry Standing Alone, had
agreed to transfer her membership. We looked
toward the Motokik's lodge, where we saw some-
one leading a fine horse with a pile of beautiful
blankets on its back—all representing payments
for the new membership.

Part of the Motokiks' transfer ceremony is 575
public and part is closed. We walked over to the 432
lodge to join a crowd of others to see what we 796
could through the two doorways and the lodge
covers, which were opened for all to see. Inside, [535]
three women were dancing in place. They wore [292]
[534]

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Snake headdresses, whistles on leather thongs 575
around their necks, and shawls over their shoul- 432
ders. The feather plumes of their headdresses 796
waved in the air as they danced. Each of the [292]
women tooted on small whistles made from eagle
bones. The women's faces were completely cov- [534]
ered with sacred yellow paint, which looked [237]
greenish in the subdued lighting of the lodge.
Thin red lines were drawn from the corners of [302]
their eyes and mouths.

Four of the older men did the singing—Joe [533]
Sun, Albert Wolf Child, Mark Old Shoes, and
Fred Weasel Fat—all former members of the [534]
Horns Society. They sat in a row, facing east, each
beating the song's rhythm with a rawhide rattle
on a sheet of rawhide spread before them on the
ground.

The members' beds were lined head to foot [353]
around the lodge wall. Members who were not
dancing sat quietly on their beds. Before each [352]
bed, a piece of earth was cleared. This was the
altar where the incense was made. Just beyond [778]
the altar, toward the center of the lodge, a short,
upright stick had been firmly planted in the
ground. Tied to each stick was a decorated raw- [415]
hide container. This was where the sacred head- [292]
dresses were kept when not worn.

Soon the doors of the lodge were closed, [778]
shutting us from the mystery of the ceremony
within.

[p.136-B]

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Buttes Road. We turned off this road and followed 497
the old wagon trail downhill to the edge of
the camp's flat. The trail wound its way over ruts,
past gullies, past abandoned badger and fox holes.
A lone cottonwood post, forked at the top and 346
surrounded by a few smaller posts, outlined the
shape of a Medicine Lodge from a past holy
gathering. The missing posts had either been carried [372]
off by families in need of firewood during our [132]
cold winters (which can go to fifty below!) or else
were eaten by a pack of hungry porcupines.

Back at camp, we entered our tipi somewhat 778
anxiously. Every time we leave our Bundle we fear 425
it might be stolen. Yes, stolen! Right there in the
Sun Dance Encampment. Not stolen by a thief,
although that possibility exists, but stolen by one
of our own People who might still believe in the
Old Ways. You see, there is a custom among our
People that helps anyone who wants to obtain the
Power of a holy Bundle without having to ask for
it or offer the Owner reasons why the Bundle is
needed. If such an individual has the property
necessary for the transfer, he can find a Bundle in
the home of an absent Owner and then sneak in
and steal it.

To steal a sacred Bundle, a person must be a
previous Owner, preferably of the Bundle he is
about to steal. He must make incense, say a [782]
prayer for success, and then call out four coups
before he can take the Bundle out of the lodge.
If the person is not qualified to do this, he may
enlist the help of some older man. Once the Bundle [432]
is stolen, the person must still satisfy the
Owner with payments.

For a stolen Bundle, the paymens are expected
to be about twice what they would normally
have been. I will give you an example of
this custom later on.

My Teachers had warned me that our
Bundle could be stolen. They pointed out that
one respected Medicine Pipe Owner with the
same fears as ours took his Bundle back home,
while the other Owners never even brought theirs
to camp. During the Piegan Sun Dance earlier

[p. 137-8]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

you how we were "captured" when we took our 778
Pipe. 425

The Owner of our Pipe was Stabs Down. [123]
Our camp, consisting of our old Painted-All-Over
Tipi and a canvas wall tent, which served as a 778
cookhouse for the ceremony, was set up near 432
Stabs Down's tipi. But it was so windy during 796
the night that we didn't hear the singing when [346]
they opened the Bundle.

Our uncle, Atsitsina, who camped with us [343]
and served as our advisor, woke us early on the morning of the transfer. He was the go-between for Stabs Down and us to make sure that we were all prepared for the transfer. He made a final check to see that our blankets were properly fastened, then told us to wait quietly for the arrival of the capturing party, which, according to custom, we weren't supposed to expect. In the Old Days, we wouldn't even have known the day of the transfer.

Nevertheless, after all the months of learning, planning, and saving, and after the early trials and disappointments, we found it impossible to pretend that we were not moments away from taking on the most sacred duty in the Old Ways of our People. After all the listening and reading about the sacred Pipes of our People, we would soon begin living within the holiness and honor of our own Pipe.

We prayed and cried as the wind whistled through the top of our tipi and flapped the faded red cover.

While we prayed, the capture party arrived. From Stabs Down's tipi we could just barely hear the sounds of drumming. We had no idea who was gathered there.

Before us was White Horn, a relative of ours
also known as John Many Chiefs. The Owner
had chosen him to lead the ceremony. He wore a [292]
striped blanket across his left shoulder, holding [535]
out the sacred Pipestem in his free right hand as
he danced toward us. White Horn was once
Keeper of this Pipe, and its Spirit was with him as

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

he danced. He handed the sacred Stem to me, 778
then stepped aside, permitting the man behind 432
him to dance before us. This man carried the 796
secondary Pipe, which he gave to me. The third [535]
man in line gave me the wrapped owl skin; the
fourth man handed me the decorated whistle
and rawhide rattle.

The capture party spread out a blanket and instructed me to sit on it, holding these sacred objects next to my body. With the help of two young men, they all picked up the blanket, lifting me into the air. They carried me out toward Stabs Down's tipi, SikskiAki and Wolf Child following behind.

Atsitsina walked along, singing the ancient [533]
honoring song of our family's band, the Many
Children. He preceded each song by calling, in a [554]
loud, sing-song fashion, "Natosina, Ah-hey . . . SikskiAki, Ah-hey . . . Makwi Poka, Ah-hey," and then he sang, announcing the sacred duty we were about to assume.

I could hear the Old Man's voice, booming above the other drummers, singing in Stabs Down's white tipi as we approached it. On the way, the party stopped four times and gently lowered me to the ground. They carried me into the tipi as Sun moves, from east to west around the fire. The Owner's seat was vacant, south of the opened Bundle. SikskiAki and Wolf Child sat at my right. The leader sat to my left; he instructed me to replace the sacred objects in the opened Bundle between us.

The Old Man was very proud that his [576]
"grandchildren" sat in the place of honor next to
the sacred Bundle that had so long been his. He [533]
sang a rousing honoring song that silenced everyone
in the lodge. When he finished he took up his [534]
drum and beat a rolling introduction with his drumstick.

The drummers began one of the Medicine 778
Pipe dance songs and the four members of the 432
capturing party danced with the sacred objects. 796
White Horn led the group, which included 535

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

Arthur Healy and Jim Red Crow, both of whom 778
were former Owners of this Bundle, and Henry 432
Standing Alone, who once owned the Bloods' 796
Long-Time Pipe. Each of the dancers demonstrated 535
his spiritual enthusiasm in his own way as
he danced the four rounds. Then the men handed
the sacred objects to SikskiAki, who accepted
their Spirit by brushing them over her body four
times. The objects were then brushed over Wolf
Child and me and were replaced in the Bundle.

The transfer ceremony ends when the retiring 778
Owner dances four rounds with the sacred 432
Pipe. During the dance, he goes outside to inspect 796
the goods offered as material payments for the
Bundle. If he accepts them, he gives the Pipe to
the new Owner. If he does not, he may either
sing a song, specifically requesting something the
new Owner should sacrifice, or he may instruct
the leader to close up the Bundle and call off the
transfer. He would do the latter only if the prospective
Owner's lack of material sacrifice was a
mockery. No one remembers such an occurrence
in recent times. However, there was once an incident
when specific horses were requested by the
retiring Owner of our People's Long-time Pipe.

Old Stabs Down is often considered the previous
Owner of our sacred Bundle. He is a man in
his mid-seventies, although he appears much
younger. He speaks very little English and he is [191]
among the more traditional of our People. But he
likes to point out that some people mistake him
for a non-Indian because of his light features. Unlike [184]
others who prefer the Old Ways, his herds of [231]
cattle and horses make him one of the reserve's
most successful ranchers, and in his house he has [207]
one of the few color television sets among our
People.

The real Owner of our Bundle was Stabs
Down's teenage son, Wallace. He was the one to
dance outside and inspect the goods we offered.
Wearing a striped Hudson's Bay blanket and [292]
holding the sacred Pipe, he danced the first two
rounds of the "inspection song." During the sec-

[p.139-B]

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

ond round he danced outside where our relatives 778
stood with some of the goods we were giving up. 432 ●
Our main payment was to have been seven 796
horses; several we owned, the others we would
buy. Due to a misfortune in his family, however, [436]
Stabs Down sent word to us sometime before the
transfer that he would rather have the money for [435]
those horses we hadn't yet bought. So we offered
a thoroughbred quarter horse and a good mare
with a colt. Instead of the other four horses, we
offered a large number of twenty-dollar bills sewn
to a large Hudson's Bay blanket, according to custom, and also a large pile of blankets, clothes, and
dry goods.

SikskiAki and I held our breaths, hoping that
all our spiritual hope and enthusiasm would not
be let down for insufficient material payments. It
had taken us some time to gather what we
offered. After a brief look at our things, the [535]
Owner turned slowly and danced toward us as the
drummers took up the inspection dance song [533]
again. At the end of the song, young Wallace
stopped before us and handed the sacred Pipe to
me, saying, "You got yourself this holy Pipe."
Then he turned around and walked to his seat by
the doorway.

With that simple gesture we were given the [424]
key to our long-time dreams. We now had the

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony , 1972]

right to learn the sacred songs and Teachings of 778
the Medicine Pipes and to use them whenever we 796
wished to have their Power. 432

During the ceremony that followed, we were [424]
all painted in the style of Medicine Pipe People. [302]
My family was given new blankets and shell necklaces
and bead wristlets to wear. White fur headbands [301]
were placed on Wolf Child and me. [292]

A transfer within the transfer took place
when the little granddaughter of Mokakin and [852]
Ponah gave up her rights to wear the sacred topknot [237]
from our Bundle, which is a strip of otter
skin. While the topknot song was sung, the fur [301]
strip was wrapped in a spiral around a small,
doubled-over braid that SikskiAki had fixed over
Wolf Child's forehead. In our language, he became
a Medicine Pipe Child. We gave up a [435]
quarter horse yearling, another pile of blankets,
dry goods, and moccasins in payment for this.

Back in the Old Days, most Medicine Pipe 793
Owners wore topknots to identify themselves. 778
The origin for this has been forgotten. In recent [301]
times most men cut their hair too short to wear [302]
topknots, which is probably why the rights to
these topknots are transferred to some child. The [432]
parents make sacrifices, offering nearly as much as [852]
given for the Bundle itself. Usually the Bundle
belongs to their own parents or a relative.

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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The Fifth Day

THE BACKSIDE-TO-THE-FIRE PIPE TRANSFER CEREMONY

The main event of this day in camp was to be the 796
Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe Transfer. The ceremony 432
itself had actually begun the night before, with a 779
preliminary opening of the Bundle in Jim Twig's
tipi, where he and former Medicine Pipe Owners
had gathered. (This opening is not to be confused
with the annual opening Jim Twig had had earlier.) After the Bundle had been ceremonially [264]
opened, and the guests fed, the group dispersed,
leaving the Bundle untied for the rest of the night
in the tipi.

White Horn was to be the leader at the
transfer ceremony on this day—the same White
Horn who had officiated at our own transfer. He
carried the sacred Pipe under his white blanket,
leading the capturing party toward a white tipi.
There the future Owner waited with two of his
sisters, one to be his partner, in place of his wife,
and the other to accept the Bundle's topknot.
This was a common arrangement among Old [852]
People who made the vow for a young person to
take a Pipe.

Mokakin sang an honoring song for his [533]
grandson. Two other grandparents, Ponah and [554]
Emonissi, also sang their own rendition. The tiny
bells on the sacred Pipestems jingled with the
leader's movements.

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[Backside-To-The Fire Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

After the sacred objects were replaced in the 796
Bundle, the singers began the inspection dance 432
song. Jim Twig took the sacred Pipe and danced 778
outside to see the payments. To make their [435]
grandson's transfer successful, both grandparents
had amassed four nice horses, a new Winchester [436]
rifle, a couple of blankets covered with bills, and a
huge pile of blankets and dry goods. When Jim
Twig came back inside, he danced up to young
Weaselhead, handed him the sacred Pipe, and
said, "Oki, here is your holy Pipe."

The transfer is completed after the new [302]
Owners have had their faces painted. Two men
held up a large blanket to shield the painting
from the view of others. The drummers sang
while Henry Standing Alone stood outside the
blanket and held the main Pipe over the blanket,
jingling its tiny bells above the head of the new
Owner. The topknot and headbands were fastened [301]
on by the leader and his wife. Then the [292]
leader and his wife exchanged new clothes with
the new Owners, to symbolize the rebirth of the
Owner and his wife. In the Old Days, these new
clothes would have been made of finely decorated
buckskin. Today, except for handmade moccasins, [178]
the new clothes are store-bought and are seldom
worn at the exchange. Often, only blankets are
actually exchanged and worn.

After the blanket was taken away, the ceremony [535]
continued. A procession of people came

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[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

into the tipi to take turns dancing in place with 796
the sacred Pipe. These were people who wished to 432
share the Pipe's spiritual powers; and for the 778
privilege of dancing with the Pipe, they contrib- [535]
uted some blankets and dry goods. The first group
was young Weaselhead's relatives. They placed [424]
the blankets and dry goods around the fireplace in a semi-circle, dancing on them and facing the four directions. After each dance, the material was given to the former Owner and considered part of the payment.

After the relatives, some members of the 796
Magpie Society came in. Fred's late father (Pat 432
Weaselhead, Junior, son of Mokakin and Ponah) 778
had been a member of the Magpies. Upon his 575
death, his comrades had taken his son into their
society as a junior member, as was the custom.
For ceremony, they danced and then gave their [535]
walkway of blankets and dry goods to the Bundle's former Owner. The last group to come in and dance in the same way were members of young Weaselhead's social society, the Kaispaiks, or Grass Dancers.

After the last dancer, the Bundle was folded 778
up, but not tied, and taken to the new Owner's 796
tipi for the remainder of the ceremony. The 432
woman has the honor of caring for the Bundle, not only at home but also when moving it. She carries the closed Bundle on her back, following the leader and her husband.

Due to the uncomfortable heat that day, a pause was taken until later in the afternoon, when the mountain breezes would blow across the campground. We went back to our own lodge to rest and relax.

It was almost suppertime when the crier [203]
came around to announce that the Bundle would
be closed up. He reminded the participants to [415]
bring along their bowls to share in the meal the [264]
new Keeper's family would provide. The new
Keeper's tipi was soon filled with visitors, most of
them former Medicine Pipe People. Berry soup [262]
and other foods were dished out, prayed with, and [782]
eaten. The atmosphere was now very relaxed. It

was after dark when the last person danced with 778
the sacred Pipe and returned it to the new 796
Owner, bringing the transfer ceremony to a close. 432

HISTORY OF THE BACKSIDE-TO-THE-FIRE PIPE

Part of the Spirit dwelling within each sacred 778
Bundle is the history of the Bundle and of those
who formerly owned it and prayed with it. What [115]
I know of this Pipe I learned from my two
Teachers, Atsitsina and Mokakin, each of whom [869]
had already kept that Bundle.

It is called the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe because
the sacred Stems are placed within the
Bundle in the direction opposite that of Pipes in
other Bundles. Our other sacred Pipe Bundles
must always hang on a west wall, facing Sun's first
light from the east, and the Pipestems must be
placed in the Bundle so that the mouthpieces
point to the south, where the lodge fire is. But the
tradition of the Backside Bundle calls for the
mouthpieces to point North; thus the "backside"
of the Pipes face the fire. This is according to
spiritual directions given to the Pipe's first
Keeper.

White Horn, an uncle of the ceremony's
present leader, had been the first Blood man to
own this Pipe. He had it transferred to him by [439]
Drum, a member of the Sarsi tribe. Although the [425]
Sarsi People belong to a different language group,
they share a long alliance and dependence with [648]
our People, and have adopted most of our religious
and cultural customs. Thus, their Medicine
Pipe Bundles are similar to ours. The main Stem
of the Bundle looks like a Medicine Pipe from
the Crow People, so the Bundle may originally
have come from them.

White Horn had the Bundle for many years, [764]
and because he was so fond of it his family decided
to bury it with him when he died. Before the [787]
burial, one of our head men, Day Chief, was
instructed in a dream to take the main Pipe from

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of those holy Pipes and learn how to live with it." 778
In those days my life was good. I had a lot of 782
horses. I had everything and I wasn't in need. 755

When I came home, my brother, Doesn't
Own Nice Horses [Jack Low Horn], was at my
house. I came in and I hugged my wife and I told
her, "Oki, Last Badger Face, so that you will become
healthy again, we will become Ninamskaniks."
My brother was surprised and said,
"That is a good thing you are doing. You are taking
refuge in our holy Ways. My old Pipe, Backside-to-the-Fire,
you go and take it." I agreed, and
I told him I would go right away to the present
Owner and offer to take it.

I filled my smoking pipe and we started out in 778
our wagon to the home of White Badger Face 432
[Fred Weaselfat]. We went inside and I gave him [276]
my pipe. I said, "Here, smoke this. I am asking
for your holy Pipe. I am coming to your Pipe
so that my wife will get better again." He just
said, "Ah," which meant yes to me. Then he took [782]
my pipe and he prayed with it. I told him, "I just
bought two good horses and will give them to
you to show that I meant what I said." He told
me, "Well, you got yourself a Pipe. You can have
it transferred to you anytime you want."

On the way back home, Jack said, "Oki, in the
summer it will be transferred to you." He told me
it would be too much trouble to start making
a new tipi, with my wife still sick. He said, "Buy [342]
a white tipi. But it will not look right just to have
a plain white one. My wife, Cuts Her Hair, still
has the Buffalo Tipi. We will paint it on your
white tipi."

I bought the white tipi from an old lady, Yellow
Star. I asked her, "Old Lady, why don't you
give me your tipi?" She said, "Yes, I have no use
for it. Take it, and pay me whatever you want."

As soon as it was summer I told my brother, [434]
"I am going to go to Bald Head's [a white
Rancher named Ryere]. I will sell my hay to him
so that I will have the money for the transfer."

We painted the tipi. My brother, Ksachkom [532]

[Fred Eagle Plume] *drew the buffalo on it. They* 778
told me when the Sun Dance started they would 432
go there and set it up. I started bringing my hay [532]
to Bald Head. I worked hard and saved up nine
hundred dollars. Then word came that they had [454]
set up the tipi and that we should come to the
Sun Dance Encampment.

I got my money and bought the things for payments. The next day I went to camp. In the distance I could see the tipi. When I got there I moved right into it. The next day we went to get the horses I was going to give for payment. They were in the pasture of Camoose, my brother-in-law.

First we had to transfer the Buffalo Tipi to 778
me. Calling Last painted me for the tipi transfer 432
and led the ceremony. My relatives got out four 796
eagle headdresses. My brother said, "You will get [532]
painted for these. They will be transferred to
you." [342]

The next morning Heavy Head and Speaks-in- [302]
the-Middle [Iron] *came with some others to capture me. They took me to the tipi where the Bundle was transferred. On the way, we stopped four times; each time there was a headdress for the Owner.*

When they finished transferring the Bundle
we brought it home, and I asked Heavy Head if
he would finish the ceremony in my lodge. So
we had a dance with the Pipe. Then Heavy Head 778
initiated me to step over a dog, so that I would 432
be allowed to step over dogs from then on. They
brought a dog over in front of our tipi. Somebody 796
brought out a hot coal and placed it by the dog. 424
Heavy Head made incense with sweet pine and
held each of my feet over it four times. The
fourth time he told me to step over the dog. He
said, "Now you will not get hurt by touching a
dog or by being around one." But he said that [784]
dogs must never come into a tipi or house where
a Medicine Pipe is. That's the Old Way.

The next morning Heavy Head woke me up and gave me the right to get up. I was just like a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 146-B]

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child that was being taught how to do everything 778
the first time, my wife, too. He gave me the right 432
to smoke, then told me to go outside and look 796
around. I tried to look three times; the fourth
time I put my hand above my eyes and I looked 424
all around. That was to start out my first day as
a Ninamskan.

Heavy Head told me, "When you get home
from the Sun Dance you will make a sweat for me
and I will transfer to you the rights that I haven't
transferred yet." As soon as I got home, I built the
sweat lodge. After the sweat, Heavy Head asked
me to have a horse tied up so that he could give
me the right to get on a horse. I borrowed my
brother's [SikskiAki's father's] horse. Heavy Head [784]
told brother that the horse must never carry meat
after the initiation; he was going to be a holy
horse and would go lame if he carried meat. He
made incense and we did it the same way as with
the dog. Then he gave me the right to butcher
meat. He gave me the rights to do all the important things in the Old Way of life.

Atsitsina also told an interesting story about this Pipe Bundle, involving the father and grandfather of our present head chief, Jim Shot-on-Both-Sides.

Oki, I will tell you a story about Backside-to- 778
the-Fire Pipe. It must be a very Powerful Pipe,
because it is still here, among our People. Even
our Long-Time Pipe is not here anymore. It was

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law the Long-Time Pipe. In addition, he gave 778
thirty horses to the groom's parents. They, in 793
turn, are said to have sent fifty horses and their [425]
own Medicine Pipe to Big Wolf in honor of the
marriage. [583]

The next Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was [622]
Shot-on-Both-Sides, who was our head chief for
almost fifty years. His wife became known as
Long-Time-Pipe-Woman. He kept the Pipe for
thirty-four years before he transferred it to Big
Sorrel Horse.

Big Sorrel Horse transferred the Pipe to old
Weaselhead, also known as Chief-in-Timber, who
was Mokakin's stepfather. When he transferred [432]
the Pipe to old Bobtail Chief, also called Lone [301]
Medicine Pipe Owner, old Weaselhead kept the

[p.148-B]

Bundle's blue-bead wristlets. The wristlets for the 778
Long-Time Pipe stayed in Weaselhead's family 793
for many years. The original drums from the [432]
Bundle are now owned by Many Grey Horses.
They are often used at the opening ceremonies of [301]
our remaining sacred Pipes. [534]

Bobtail Chief transferred the Long-Time
Pipe to Stephen Fox, who vowed to take it during [782]
an illness. Stephen Fox was a successful rancher
who owned many horses. Bobtail Chief did not [432]
think that enough of those horses were being sacrificed
for something so Powerful as our Long-Time [435]
Pipe. During the transfer ceremony, after he [796]
had looked outside at the payments, he came
back in and told the drummers to sing a special [533]
song in which he said, "I do not see that fine gray
team among your payments." Stephen Fox
quickly sent someone after the matched team,
which he had hoped not to lose.

Stephen Fox was known by the name White- [551]
Plastering-His-Home until he became Owner of
the Long-Time Pipe. During the transfer, he took [553]
on the name Big Eagle. This was in keeping with
our tradition, which allows a person to take a new [555]
name for noteworthy accomplishment: a first
coup, a long-distance journey, or a major role
within our tribe.

Stephen Fox left behind a large family when
he died a few years ago. Some of them are well
known in reserve politics, business, social affairs,
and news media. He got the Fox name when, as [551]
a young boy, he was sent to school with his sister.
The teachers did not care to learn the students'
traditional names, so they decided to give them
all "proper" names. Because his sister's name was
Medicine Fox Woman, they were both given the
last name of Fox.

Calling First wanted to have the Long-Time [432]
Pipe, even though Stephen Fox did not wish to
give it up so soon. So he decided to make sure of
a transfer by stealing the Pipe from Stephen Fox.
Fifty-two horses were among the payments made
during that transfer. Calling First had the distinc- [582]
[584]

tion of having been married to a ten-year-old girl 778
when he was only twelve. The marriage was arranged 793
by their parents. It is said that Calling [582]
First used to have his mother watch his wife
while he went out to play with his friends. [584]

During the 1930s our next-door neighbor, old [782]
Dick Soup, made a vow to take the Long-Time
Pipe for his son, Arthur, who was then in a hospital.
The following year Arthur returned home, [432]
and the Pipe was transferred to him. Old Bird [796]
Rattler called out the necessary coups while Soup [555]
was given the right to mount a horse (by tradition
this required a man to relate how he had rescued [424]
a friend during battle) and to dismount (for [425]
which the coup had to be about an enemy who
was pulled from his horse). Of course, no one
today has such deeds among his record of accomplishments.

The next Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was
Henry Standing Alone, also known as Folded Intestine.
He and his wife were well-liked participants
in our holy ceremonies. Unfortunately, they [165]
were killed recently in a tragic auto accident.
Around 1939, Folded Intestine's daughter was [771]
very ill and he became depressed and lost his faith
in our Old Ways. He wondered why his little girl
had to suffer so much instead of him. But his
daughter recovered and then he became critically
ill. It took three months for him to get well again.
While almost dead, he had a dream in which he [787]
was told that if he vowed to accept the duties of a [782]
Medicine Pipe Bundle, he would recover. He related
his dream to two older relatives, Heavy [755]
Head and Cross Child, both former Medicine
Pipe Keepers. They offered to help him fulfill his
vow if he wished to follow their advice. They
told him that since no particular Bundle had been
mentioned in the dream, he might just as well
vow the Powerful Long-Time Pipe. The Bundle
was transferred to him during the next Sun Dance
Encampment.

Standing Alone transferred the Long-Time
Pipe to his sister and her husband, John Red

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Crane, also called Black Bachelor. After them the next Owner was Charlie Davis, another successful rancher following the Old Ways, like his friend Dick Soup. While Charlie Davis was on his deathbed, John Red Crane took the Pipe back, 778 793 [425]

and later had it transferred to himself a second time.

Not long after Red Crane took the Pipe over that second time, he sold it to the Provincial Museum. And that's where it is now. [439] [432]

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796
778
276
● 432
531
142
302
292

Henry Standing Alone bids farewell to the sacred Pipe that he and his wife once owned. The Bundle was sold by his sister and brother-in-law.

[p.154-A]

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six-strip canvas tent (many of our People still 793
lived year-around in tents and tipis back then), a 778
plow, and enough food to get him started. [657]

By the time Wings vowed to take our sacred
Pipe, his farm was operating well, and he had [426]
already paid off the agent's loan. But after he [342]
made his payments for the Bundle, he didn't have
enough horses left to haul a wagon. Besides, the [432]
wagon itself had been included as part of the payment. [511]
For him, the sacrifice had been considerable.

The next Owner of our Bundle was Bob [551]
Black Plume, also known as Apikayi, or "Skunk."
He was given the name by his grandmother, who [553]
used the Power of that animal in her doctoring. [755]
He was a regular leader of our sacred ceremonies
until recently, when he decided to give all his [797]
devotion to the Full Gospel Church.

Bobtail Chief was the leader of the ceremony
during which our Pipe was transferred from
Laurie Plume, or Otter, to our Old Man. The [431]
Old Man kept it for ten years, then gave it as a
present to his son-in-law, Bob First Charger. The [765]
Old Man was then mourning the death of his
wife.

SikskiAki was first in the presence of the Pipe
when our Old Man had it. She was just a little [852]
girl when Grandma AnadaAki and her husband,
Ben Strangling Wolf, took her along to the Old
Man's spring Thunder ceremony. Although SikskiAki
was then quite young, her memories add to
the spirit the Bundle now has for us.

THE DIFFERENT-PEOPLE PIPE

One of our remaining Medicine Pipe Bundles has 778
been with our People since the year 1833. Some
ethnologists have called this Bundle the Gros
Ventre Pipe and even the Long-Time Pipe.
Among our People it is known as *NamaTappi-Achkuineman*,
or the "Different-People Pipe." It [177]
was brought here from the Mandan tribe.

Our head chief at the end of the Buffalo

would be brought to trial before the Owner and 778
his society. He said that I would have to pay a 425
lot more on the Pipe because I had stolen it.

Some time passed and I heard people say that Long Mane's Pipe was stolen. They didn't know yet who it was. Then Bob Black Plume came to my house, and he told me, "They have found out you stole that Pipe."

Then Long Mane sent word for me to go to 778
his house. When I got there, he said, "You stole 432
my Pipe. In the spring we will have your trial.
You set the date when you will be prepared for
the trial." I said, "I am ready to take it any time.
I have all my payments ready." Then he asked me,
"How do you stand? How much do you intend
to give me so that I will let you out of the trial?"
My brother had given me five ten-dollar bills.
I gave them to Long Mane and he said, "That
will do for a start." Then he measured my feet
and my wife's for the moccasins they would make
for us. He said, "Just say when, so I can tell my [575]
comrades, the Crazy Dogs, because it's their Pipe
too." [They had helped with the payments during his transfer.]

As soon as the days were nice, I sent word to him to come up and transfer the Pipe to me. When the day came he set up his tipi by my house. I had my Pipe transferred to me at my home. That's the right way if the transfer is not during the Sun Dance. All the Crazy Dogs came. Laurie Plume led the transfer ceremony. I paid really good on the Pipe. All my relatives came and helped me.

So that is how I stole my Pipe. I'm the only one still living who stole a holy Pipe; just me, Willie Eagle Plume.

STEVE OKA'S PIPE

While mourning over the loss of his wife, Steve 778
Oka found no comfort in the Medicine Pipe their
friend Mike Eagle Speaker had given the couple
as a present a long time before. No one from the
reserve made any effort to claim the Pipe. (Sacred [768]
Bundles are usually cared for by someone else [425]

when there is a death in the Owner's family. 778
Often a former Owner takes the Bundle back and [768]
later has it transferred to himself.) So Steve Oka [425]
sold the Bundle to Hugh Dempsey for three hun-
dred dollars. Dempsey took it for the Blackfoot [439]
collection in the then-new Glenbow Museum in [432]
Calgary.

The Bundle's former Owner, Mike Eagle [435]
Speaker, was one of the first from the Blood Re-
serve to obtain a college degree. He once told me [673]
that he originally got the Bundle because of a vow [782]
made during a time of need in his family. Because
the Power of the Bundle helped his family over- [425]
come their trial, Mike felt he had been repaid for
his material investment, and for that reason had
given the Pipe to its next Owner, accepting no
payments.

Mokakin said that this Pipe originally came 778
from the North Blackfoot People. The first Blood 793
man to own it was Sun Calf, a partner of old Red
Crow. After him the Owners were Hungry Crow;
Rides-at-the-Door (the holy woman and her late
husband); Gordon Bird; Morning Bird; Camoose
Bottle; Joe Eagle Ribs; Mike Eagle Speaker; and
then Steve Oka.

WILLIE MILLS'S PIPE

One of our former Medicine Pipe Bundles is 778
listed in the collection of the Provincial Museum 439
as the "Willie Mills Pipe." Mills was the grand- 177
son of the Negro interpreter, Dave Mills (Young
Scabby Bull). Like Steve Oka, Mills sold his Pipe [144]
while mourning the loss of his wife. He sold it in
1966 to the white man of the Alberta Provincial [768]
Museum.

Mokakin and Atsitsina, both of whom had sacred Pipes at that time, told me that they used to dread this white man's visits. Mokakin said, "That guy, he never takes no for an answer. He come back and he come back, no matter what I tell him, he always come in with his big smile. Even nobody trusts him with it. He smile, and

[p. 164-A]

pretty soon he don't smile no more when I tell 778
him I'm not interested in his money. As soon as 439
he knows something is wrong in our house, he 177
comes again."

When his offer to buy sacred Pipes was first accepted by old Willie Mills, the white man wrote to his superior at the Provincial Museum:

> *Among the Indians, when ownership of the* [435]
> *bundle is transferred, payment is made to the amount of $1,000 to $1,500. There are very few of these and they are difficult to obtain as the Plains Indians consider them to be sacred and extremely valuable. . . . Today there remains only 5 on The Reservations in Canada and the United States, and 6 in museum collections in the U.S. and Canada* [far from true; there were many more]*. . . . These bundles are very old and valuable, the originals are never duplicated and vary in age from*
> *80 to 200 years. The market price for this type of* [435]
> *bundle is $1,000 if complete. This particular sacred pipe bundle . . . is approximately 150 years old . . . contains 105 items.*

The "market price" he lists was set by himself and, like the value of all good investments, it
rose rapidly after he wrote his letter. He was able [435]
to buy the Bundle for $700, which he thought
was quite a deal, since Willie Mills gave "goods to [432]
the value of $1,100 for this bundle when owner-
ship was transferred to him in 1953." Mills had [793]
gotten the Bundle from his father, Harry Mills, who had been its previous Owner. Before him it was owned by Nelson Rabbit; Brown Chief Calf; Mark Wolf Child; Big Sorrel Horse; Iron; and Calf Shirt, who had the Power with Rattlesnakes.

A BAD MEDICINE PIPE BUNDLE

One of the Bundles that our Old People actually 778
remember being made up during their lifetime is the one that Lone Invitation Caller was directed to make. That Bundle became known as the Bad

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ordinary smoking pipe, which was used during the 778
ceremony, always rested on this chip.

Another Pipe once belonged to the Catcher's
Society. It was last owned by the Old Man's step-
father, old Scraping White. It was inherited by [428]
his son, Harold Chief Moon, who sold the Pipe to [439]
a collector from the States.

A Black-Covered Pipe from the Seizers So- [432] ●
ciety was sold to Mrs. Walters by Percy Creigh- [212]
ton. He sent this note along with it:

> *The pipe belongs to a man named Never Sits* 778
> *Down, the same man who made the Never Sits* 789
> *Down shield [the most famous shield among our* [714]
> *People—several variations of it have been made over the ages, and we will see one of them later]; he was a great medicine man. He made this pipe and carried it when on the war path. When the enemy is in sight, he takes his pipe, and makes ceremony with it. That allures the enemy from their watchouts, and it's easy for him. With all his undertakings [he] always gets away with plenty of horses from his enemy. When he died, his friends of the same age put the pipe as the head article of this Society, called the Seizer's, and the pipe is called the "Seizer's pipe." Now the society is done away with.*

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monies. Food was cooked in other tipis and 575
brought to them at mealtimes. Every morning the [796]
members brought out their ancient sacred bags
and Bundles and hung them from several long [778]
wooden tripods set up behind their lodge, to the [417]
west.

SOCIETY TRANSFER CEREMONY: 1891

As a non-member, it would be improper for me to 123
say much about the activities of the Horns during
our encampment. However, Robert Wilson re- 127
corded the public activities of the Horns Society
transfer ceremony of 1891. The events he witnessed were basically the same as those that took place in our camp.

An enclosure had been built in the middle of 575
the space inside the large circular camp. This en- 796
closure was round and about 40 feet in diameter. 346
It was constructed of travoix, lodge poles and lodge canvas. The travoix, 18 in number, were set up in pairs resting together at the top. These nine pairs were placed at equal distances from each other in a circle and between each pair was tied horizontally a single lodge pole. The poles were about 3½ feet from the ground and over them was thrown lodge canvas thus making a continuous wall or shelter for the inmates who had spent one night there. Between the two most easterly pairs of travoix, the pole and canvas had been omitted which left a means of egress and exit for the crowd of men, women and horses that thronged the place.

Sitting with their backs to the wall inside the 575
shelter, and forming except at the entrance an 796
unbroken circle of men, sat the 18 old members
of the Society in company with their assistants 432
[called Partners], and some old men who acted as instructors. In front of each old member a staff was stuck upright in the ground. Nine of these were long poles, 10 feet or thereabouts, with 10

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[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

inches of their upper ends bent down almost in a 575
perfect half-circle and tied in that position by a 776
leather strand. This gave the 9 large staffs a striking 432
resemblance to the crooks of ancient shepards.
A 10th man had stuck in front of him a 10 foot [411]
spear with an iron head, and all of the others had
simply a short plain stick about 4 feet in height.
Upon each of these upright staffs were tied one or more of the long painted and fringed raw-hide bags always seen hanging upon a tripod at the back or west side of an Indian house or lodge. In front of each staff sat the candidate for membership and his assistant. The relatives and friends of candidates were busy bringing in horses, guns, and great quantities of lodge goods, as well as numerous blankets and articles of mens clothing,
etc. These were the payments for membership [424]
which were laid down near the groups about the
staffs, and were then taken possession of and carried away by wives, daughters or other relatives of the old members.

Property changed hands in a lively manner for over an hour. When all the necessary and voluntary payments had been made and the space in the centre of the enclosure was clear, the ceremonies of initiation and installment were prepared for. First of all a small fire was built in the centre, for red-hot coals were necessary to make incense. When the fire had burnt down sufficiently for the purpose, each candidate, or his assistant, went to it and took upon a forked stick, a single coal which he carried with great care to his altar, which was a spot 12 or 14 inches square between the staff and where each candidate and companion sat.

These altars were made as the Indians usually make them, simply by cutting and scraping away
the sod to the depth of an inch or more. An [787]
Indian standing near me remarked that should one of the men have dropped to the ground the coal he was carrying between the fire and the altar, it would have been considered a bad omen.

The 18 coals were all safely deposited at the

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[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

centre of the 18 altars, and the old members 575
made incense by sprinkling upon them a small 796
quantity of dried grass. Each old member next 432 ●
made four passes with his hands from incense to
the bag on the staff and then untied it and after
passing it [four times to the altar] he laid it upon
the ground. The bags were at once opened and
the head dresses etc., which they contained were
taken out and exposed to view. Each candidate [302]
was now painted by the old member whose regalia
and position in the Society he was about to
acquire. Some were painted red, others yellow; in
all cases they were painted from head to foot.
Some had their faces painted jet black and a red
stripe from ear to ear across the eyes and another
red stripe across the mouth. In the meantime, the
wives of 4 of those who sat behind the short staffs
were putting together 4 large war bonnets which
they stuck upon the staffs. A number of dark
clouds from the north were at this time overshadowing
the camp and from them a few drops
of rain were falling, the appearance in fact was in
favour of a rainy afternoon. Running Wolf, two [782]
other men and Running Wolf's wife stood up in [789]
a row facing the entrance and behind them stood
an old man who in a loud voice prayed that the
rain storm should pass to one side or the other
and not interfere with the sacred proceedings. He
prayed 4 times with a pause between each.

White Calf now took down, or rather pulled
up, Running Wolf's staff and held it horizontally
over the altar. In a loud voice he made a prayer, [782]
and when near the end of it, he put a daub or two [531]
of red earth paint upon it. At the conclusion of
the prayer he covered the pole from one end to
the other with the red earth which was mixed
with grease and of a pink shade. When White
Calf had finished, all the other poles were taken
up by the instructor of old members and painted
in the same manner, but all the short staffs and
some of the long ones were yellow. From each of
the bags before mentioned, was taken a long strip
of fur with which to wrap the long staffs from end

[p.205-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

to end. With slow and deliberate motions this 575
part was performed. Gathering up the whole strip 796
in a bunch in his hand, the old instructor passed 432 ●
it 4 times to the altar and then tied one end
securely to the extremity of the crook. He then
proceeded to wind the fur spirally and closely
down the length of the staff covering the wood
completely. None of the fur was allowed to touch
the ground during the operation. At the lower [237]
end, 4 foot of the pole, the wrapping was fastened [324]
again, and against it was bound some braided and
dried grass used by this Society for incense and a
dried bladder bag of the buffalo.

Running Wolf's crook was wrapped with [237]
white swan's skin, the others with otter. All the
fur was about one inch in width. All of the long staffs and the spear were wrapped as described, each with the grass and bladders at the bottom. At the end of each crook and at three places down its length was tied a bunch of two eagle feathers, the spear alone had a 4 or 5 inch strip of black and white cotton tied loosely to its full length. The wife of the chief of the outgoing members now took the swan-covered staff, and wearing a small horned head dress also of white swan skin, she walked over and took up a position near the entrance but facing inwards. She also carried in her arms a bundle of clothing rolled in a blanket. Bear Back Bone next got up, wearing nothing but a breech cloth and moccasins, and stooping low, with a slow and solemn pace, he approached the woman; close behind him walked Running Wolf, also stooping or rather hiding behind the others. When Bear Back Bone [the name was actually Bear Shin Bone] reached the squaw, he straightened up to his height and, after reverently passing his hands from the top of her head to the shoulders, he kissed her upon the left cheek. She then handed him the pole and head-dress. Running Wolf next lifted his head up and with same solemn pass with the hands also kissed her and received from her the bundle of clothing. They slowly returned to their place in the circle,

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

stooping as before, the squaw bringing up the 575
rear. 796

The same ceremony was gone through with 432
the 4 large war bonnets, but the latter moved in a
direction contrary to the course of the Sun while
the others followed it. The candidates were at [782]
once dressed in their new clothing and Running Wolf, Bear Back Bone and another stood up in a row as before, while White Calf 4 times prayed aloud that the rain should not fall. The blanket Bear Back Bone had received was folded up and laid upon the ground. Its owner took a kneeling position, facing it. White Calf made a pass with both hands from the altar to Bear Back Bone's head, one to his shoulder, a 3rd to his waist and the 4th to his hips, giving this time a gentle push at which Bear Back Bone jumped nimbly over the blanket without altering his stooping position. He sat upon the blanket while Running Wolf was put through the same maneuver, then all ditto.

This finished the installment of the new 575
members and now they prepared for the dance. 796
Four drums we brought in and deposited at the
middle of the circle, and the head-dresses were all 432
placed upon their new owners. An old Chief 535
"Morning Paper" [Morning Writing] counted 4 [555]
coups, and the drummers struck up at once. All the staffs were pulled up and all the men, new members, old, and instructors, jumped to their feet and the dance began. The step was one peculiar to the Society, and a rather lively one for some of the older men to perform. They held their poles in front, lowering the tops to about an angle of 45 degrees. At intervals they would reverse all together and dance facing the low wall of the enclosure. They all made a continual peculiar sound, something between a coo and a low shout and in time to the drums. The dance lasted about 4 minutes, during which they reversed 4 or 5 times. Next they formed a procession, led by one wearing a large war bonnet which had an arrow sticking in head piece. They danced towards the entrance. As many times as the leader reversed, all

[p.206-1]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

followed suit; after many times turning about, 575
they approached the entrance and the leader went 796
out and the procession followed in the form of 432
one irregular column with the squaws bringing up 535
the rear, carrying the short staff. They danced
towards the east and between the lodges until,
when quite outside of the camp, a halt was made
and the procession reformed. Running Wolf
mounted a white horse and the second leader of
the Horns mounted a dark one. These two riders
took positions far in the lead, about one hundred
yards ahead, and the same distance from each
other. Fifteen of the others formed a line; behind
them walked the 4 drummers in a second line,
and the women as before brought up the rear in a
third line. Midway between the line of men and [237]
each rider was a dismounted man; one of them
had in his hand an Indian standard, an otter skin
[actually a fisher skin] decorated with beads and
bells. They marched in this way around to the
Southern side of the camp, the drums beating
time but not loudly. When about ¼ the distance
around the camp had been made, or when they
were opposite the South side, they halted and
danced a few minutes. The mounted men dismounted
and danced where they stood, their
horses being held by boys. The march was renewed
as before. A second halt and dance at the
West, a 3rd at the north and a 4th at the East,
the spot where they had first formed a line, completed
the outside of the camp march and they
prepared to reenter the camp by taking the same
positions and formation as when they came out.
Dancing all together, the tom-toms beating
loudly, they returned to the centre of the camp
space.

Their enclosure had in the meantime been 575
taken down and carried away, but they all sat 796
down near where it had been and in about the 432
same positions that they had held inside of it.
The 4 large war bonnet wearers took them off and
hung them up upon their short staffs. When they [271]
had been sitting, resting for half an hour, a

[p. 206-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

woman appeared and stood about 50 yards to the 575
East of them, holding in her hands a bowl of 796
water. Two of the dancers got up and slowly 432
walked towards her, as before stooping low, one
behind the other. The leading man kissed her, in [271]
the same solemn fashion as before, received from
her the water, some of which he drank and after
passing the bowl to his companion, who had in
the meantime also kissed the squaw, he handed
her a small bundle of clothing. The other man
now finished drinking and deposited the empty
bowl upside down upon the ground at the feet of
the woman. They now returned, as they came, to
their places and the squaw picked up the bowl
and went home. Two other women brought water
for the thirsty and the same performance was
gone through. In one case three men came out
instead of two. These squaws were the wives of [[illegible]32]
late members of the Society, and considered that
they were doing a very sacred duty in allowing

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 20[illegible]-B]

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

themselves to be publicly kissed. In fact there was 575
not a smile upon the face of any of the actors,
nothing to suggest anything other than a religious 796
duty, but I could not restrain a smile as I saw 432
Spotted Bull, who is a notorious wag, solemnly [832]
kissing the wife of Mas-tak-ath who is one of the
most handsome women in the tribe. White Calf [782]
stood behind two men and a woman, facing the
East, and shouted aloud a prayer. They then
faced the South, he prayed again; changing to the
West again, he called out a prayer and finally
repeating with faces to the North they all sat
down.

A group of women and old people, not mem- 575
bers of the Society, were sitting near the circle of
dancers, for the purpose of having prayers 796
shouted over them. The dancers stood close to 432
these sitting people and facing them always so 535
that they had to move in a circle themselves in
facing the 4 different directions. This perfor-
mance was repeated by two other parties of four
persons each. Next a dance was indulged in. The
main party danced in a circle around those sitting
on the ground, being led by one with the arrow in
his war bonnet. The other three with large head-
dresses danced outside of the rest and circled in
the opposite direction, and against the Sun. The
speed was increased to a fast hop and then the
leader stopped suddenly and without turning
hopped backwards 5 or 6 times for perhaps half of
the circle, during which they reversed as often as
they halted. After a brief pause the dance was
repeated and, in all, it was done 4 times; then all
sat down. Running Wolf's crook was carried over [555]
to some old men who sat about 50 yards to the
north of the party; one of these took Running
Wolf's crook and counted 4 coups. The drum-
mers beat an applause or response after each coup
and the crook was carried back to its owner. The
same was done for the second leader.

After a rather extended rest, they all got up and the closing dance was performed. "Little Shield," the wearer of the war bonnet with the arrow in it, not being an active man, handed his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210-A]

head-dress to Spotted Bull, because the final 575
dance had to be led by the regalia. Around the 796
circle they rapidly hopped. The Leader was 432
closely followed by two of the other large war
bonnets, the 4th one along circling in the oppo- 535
site direction and outside the rest.

A dense crowd had gathered about the dance by this time. After dancing around the circle several times, the leader made a feint to go through the crowds of people at the east and each time he came around he danced a little closer, being driven back through by the boys and young men who shook their blankets at him as they would at an animal. Someone handed Spotted Bull a rifle and the next time he came around to the East, he, still hopping, charged right at the people. Blankets were shaken in his face and the crowd did not give way for him until he fired a shot over their heads, at which all fell back allowing the procession to dance out into the open ground. The assembled crowd now dispersed.

The Society returned to where they had been 575
sitting and waited there until the lodges of two of 796
their members were taken down in the camp and [346]
moved over to them by the women. The members
then took charge of the material of the two lodges
and out of it constructed one big oblong lodge
into which they entered. This was their perma-
nent abode for the remainder of the time the
Bloods were in camp. This society did not dance
again, but religious duties and the rites were per-
formed by them every day afterwards. Such is the [784]
dance of the mysterious order of Atskiniax, about
whose sacred rites the middle-aged will talk in
whispers to you, telling you every few minutes
that it is very dangerous to talk about it at all.

OUR OWN HORNS TRANSFER

The new Horns have made a concerted effort to 575
regain the respect of the People and to learn as 186
much about the Ways of their society as they can
from former members who are still living. They

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

have carefully traced the disposition of all the 575
missing society Bundles, locating ten of them, and, 186
as of this writing, are negotiating for their return
to the society.

For some time before last summer's Horns 575
membership transfer ceremony, families of the 432
new members went around the camp circle, one
at a time, displaying their payments for the membership. [424]
Old People walked ahead of each procession,
calling out the name of the new member [887]
and singing words of praise for him. Mokakin was
the most popular man in camp for this duty, and
before long his voice was so hoarse and broken he
could barely be heard. Among the processions he
led was one for Ponah's nephew, Cyril Red Crow.
To help him with his payments, his sister and her
husband, Stabs Down, paid the quarter horse we
had given to them some time earlier when we
took our Medicine Pipe. Most of the horses [292]
shown as payments were covered with fine blankets,
while those who led them wore buckskin
suits and eagle feather headdresses. All these
goods were to be given as payments.

The transfer ceremony was held inside a 575
fenced circular enclosure. Spectators crowded outside 432
to see functions similar to those described by 796
Wilson. Within the enclosure was a large crowd
of old members, new members, and former members,
all with their wives. The former members
served as advisors to both old and new members.
A couple of the retiring members were South Piegans [484]
who had come up for the occasion from
Montana.

When the new members had made their
rounds outside the camp circle, they were preceded
by their leaders, one on a black horse and
one on a white, just as Wilson observed. The [292]
dance leader wore the ancient headdress with a
feather stuck in the front to represent the arrow
once shot into the forehead of a long-ago, similarly
headdressed dance leader. The original arrow
remained lodged in its place while the wearer of
the headdress led his party of Bloods to a victory
against the enemy. This battle and victory are re- [541]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

575
432 ●

Atsitsina and relatives displaying the saddle horse, shawl, and headdress being paid by Fred Eagle Plume for his membership in the Horns. [435] [424]

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enacted during each summer's dance, the symbolic battle ending when the leader fires his gun into the air and charges through the crowd of children, who are the "enemy." 575 432 796

As part of their performance, the Horns gave away rations of food to all the adults in the crowd. At the same time, the staffs of the two leaders were blessed by two old men who each called out four brave deeds. The leader's Swan Staff was brought to our Old Man; it had once been his, when he had been leader of the Horns. He called out four exploits of horse raiding, and said a prayer. The other staff was taken to Ben Calf Robe, the old man who had come down to visit the encampment from his home on the North Blackfoot Reserve. He had also been a member of the Horns Society, which is now inactive there. [541] [431] [782] [555] [887]

[p.211-A]

5

[Horns Society 1935]

society leader.] The White-Arch-Staff owner rode in front. [This is the staff wrapped with a white swan skin and carried by the society's leader.] The owner of the Arm Band rode across behind. [This is the secondary leader of the society.] The riders dismounted and we all danced. . . 796 535 575

The riders walked their horses real fast. The drummers walked behind. Behind the drummers are the Horn Society women [wives of the members] on foot. Behind them are more riders; they are just mounted spectators. . . .

When we got all the way around the camp circle we danced back in at the east side. The leader danced in front. We danced four by four. We got up to the double-lodge on the fourth song, and the singing stopped. We stood in order. We all had tipi pegs and an oblong stone ready. Everyone was hammering pegs into the ground [to make holes] and then we all stuck the arch staffs into the holes. . . . We all put our robes behind the staffs and everybody sat down in order. The women sat in the centre.

Now the grub. There was a cow that was slaughtered, and some berry soups, and there were some white-man fruits to make puddings. The Horns distributed the food, and after everyone ate we got up and danced. The People who made vows to dance with Horns Society staffs danced with a staff. The Horns danced four times and they stopped dancing, and then they gave away the things that they received. [A person who vows to dance with a certain staff will give its owner some kind of payment for getting to share the Power of that staff.] After we gave away the stuff, the staff owners pulled out their staffs and pegs. When a staff is pulled out, a pinch of tobacco is put in the hole and then the hole is tamped shut. . . . [262] [264] [431] [432] [424] [782] [276]

Next, we went outside where a crowd of spectators formed around in a circle to watch the dancing. The leader led us around in the dance. There were a lot of girls and boys standing, watching on the east side. This is the time when the

[p.212-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

SUN DANCE ENCAMPMENTS OF THE 1940s

A series of photographs taken by Arnold Lupson
Courtesy of the Glenbow Archives

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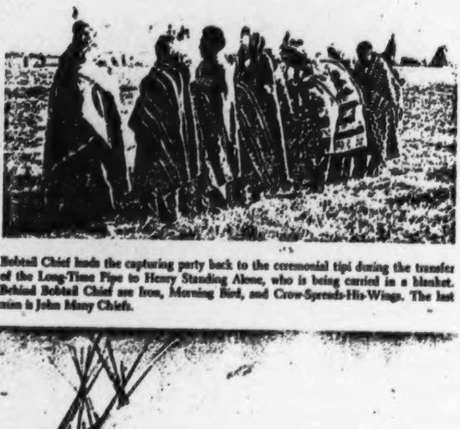
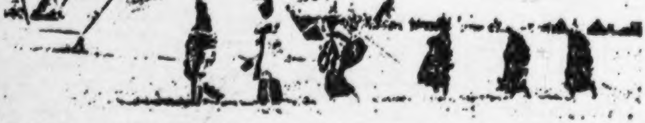


[778]
[432]

Bobtail Chief leads the capturing party back to the ceremonial tipi during the transfer of the Long-Time Pipe to Henry Standing Alone, who is being carried in a blanket. Behind Bobtail Chief are Iron, Morning Bird, and Crow-Spreads-His-Wings. The last man is John Many Chiefs.

342
361



[778]
[432]

Bobtail Chief leading the new Medicine Pipe Owner and his party back to their own tipi. The Owner is carrying the sacred Pipe under his blanket, while his wife carries the rest of the Bundle on her back. (Arnold Lupson)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

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[575] Dog Child sings an honoring song for his son, George First Rider, while he leads a saddle horse and a team around the
[533] camp circle to show what is to be paid for his son's membership in the Horns Society. (Arnold Lupson)
[554]

[432] Construction of the sacred sweat lodge for the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred willows are used for its frame. Dog Child is inside the circle, on the right.

346
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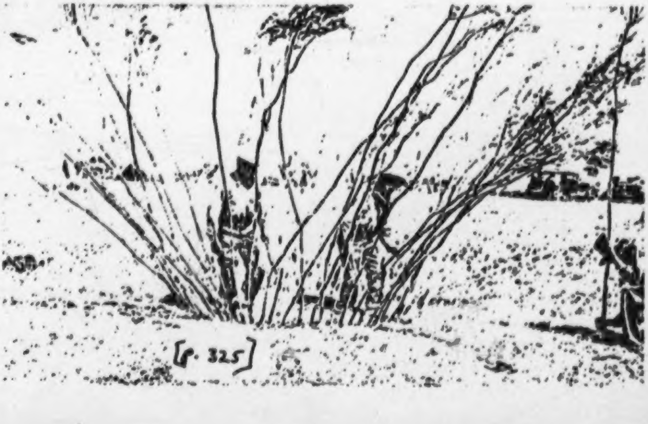

[p. 325]

lot of young people are thinking about trying to join in." 000

Mark was greatly disappointed when the 778
Long-Time Pipe was sold to the Provincial Mu- 432
seum. His brother-in-law, George Long-Time 829
Squirrel, wished to become Keeper of the ancient Pipe, so he sent Mark to see John Red Crane, because the two were related. Mark said, "It sure [439]

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535
292

Mark Old Shoes, in the center, as the head Weather Dancer during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies. In the [869] foreground is the Old Man, who was then his Teacher for the sacred duty. On the other side of him is old Heavy Head, dressed and painted just as he was some sixty years earlier when he underwent the self-torture. Each Medicine Lodge dancer must dress the same way as first instructed by his Teacher. Thus, the Old Man and Mark are both wearing shirts, with blankets wrapped around their waists. (Mark Old Shoes Collection)

was hard for me to go back to my brother-in-law 778
and tell him that he couldn't take the ancient 432
Pipe because that white man was going to take it 829
to Edmonton." He added, "It was just as hard for
me when John Red Crane asked me to drum for [439]
him at the transfer. I didn't believe in it at all, [796]
but by the rules of our Old Ways, I couldn't [533]
refuse. He was my relative and I knew the songs.
I lost my son not long after that. Just about [784]
everyone who was at that transfer suffered some
misfortune soon afterwards, especially John."

Mark's father-in-law was old Long-Time 778
Squirrel. He died while he was still Owner of the 425
Different-People Pipe. At that time his son was [768]
not prepared to take the Pipe, so Mark's mother-in-law asked him if he would take it, since it could
not stay in the home where a member of the
family had died. So Mark and his wife took it to
their home, and had it transferred to them during
the following Sun Dance.

Mark is the Weather Dancer as the result of 535
a relative's dream. A woman named Prairie 793
Chicken Calling was visited by a holy man while 787
she was sleeping. The holy man pointed into the
distance and asked, "Do you recognize that man
over there?" The man was Mark, dressed as a
Weather Dancer. The holy man said, "I am telling you that if that man becomes the Weather
Dancer and devotes himself to his duties, he will
have a long life."

The woman told Mark about her dream. She
said, "Please pity me, relative, and do as my
dream instructed." Mark spoke to the Old Man, [425]
who was then the Weather Dancer. The Old
Man agreed to transfer his rights during the next [424]
Sun Dance. Mark has been Weather Dancer at
three Sun Dance ceremonies so far. He said,
"That's the most Powerful thing that I have, [886]
now. It's my life, and I will live by it so that I can
reach old age."

[p. 336-B]

highway. Their truck was quite damaged, al- 593
though they escaped injury. The driver of a pass- 778
ing auto offered them a ride. They took most of 439
their equipment and crammed it into the cab, to lock it up.

The next day when they returned to their truck, they discovered that someone had stolen everything. This made Frank quite upset. So she asked him what was inside the old rawhide container. He told her that it had contained the flag and other sacred articles for the ancient Mountain Sheep Painted Tipi, and that he was going to be paid well for it in Great Falls. That made her quite upset and she told him so and got Frank to agree not to sell any more sacred things.

Apparently, Frank and his previous wife had 439
made quite a business of selling Indian things. When she first married him, one wall of his house was covered with shelves containing all sorts of craft materials—beads, shells, hides, dyed porcupine quills, and even sacred paints. His first wife was an excellent craftsman who could reproduce most any item and make it look quite old.

Mrs. Red Crow gave us the woman's collection of odd-shaped stones from which Iniskims could be made. She also showed us a bag of shells, some of them already strung up and painted as Medicine Pipe Owners' necklaces. She said that Frank told her he used to help Robert Wilson with his picture-taking during the Sun Dance Encampments. Later he admitted that he sold two [432] ●
Bundles that had been transferred to him—a Sol-
dier's Pipe that he got from a man called Small [778]
Buttocks, and a Crow Water Bundle (which was somewhat similar to our own Beaver Bundles) that he got from Gros Ventre Boy.

In his old age, Frank Red Crow joined the 554
sacred ceremonies in a sincere way and had the
respect of his People. He adopted his little grand- [858]
daughter Agnes as his minipoka, and taught her about some of the Old Ways.

Ponah once asked us if we ever wondered 778
why the shawl covering our sacred Pipe Bundle

[p. 342-A]

from the museum, who occupied the Owner's 796
place during the ceremony, had already offered to 778
transfer his rights if anyone wanted to take them. 425
He seemed pleased by the announcement of
Many Grey Horses. The transfer ceremony took [432] ●
place not long after. The payments included several
fine horses and many dry goods. However, the
white man had said nothing about all this to his
former employer—the Provincial Museum. When
they learned of the affair they rushed down to see
Many Grey Horses and used threats of law and
order to frighten him into returning it. They told
him that he would be allowed to have it for the
annual ceremony, provided he sign many complicated
legal papers first.

The following winter I had a vivid dream in 778
which I saw the Long-Time Pipe being brought 425
back home for good. I went to see Many Grey
Horses and his wife, and told them about the [787]
dream. They offered to accept the dream and to
follow its directions. Accordingly, SikskiAki and I
joined the elderly couple for a trip to the Provincial
Museum in Edmonton the following spring.

At the museum we were treated courteously. 778
Permission was granted for Many Grey Horses 796
and his wife to pray with the Bundle and to give 425
thanks for the return of Thunder. First, parts of
the Bundle had to be brought together—some
were on display and some were in storage. Many
Grey Horses then placed the Bundle on his wife's
back, while he carried the bags and other accessories.
Dressed in moccasins and blankets, we
made a colorful procession outdoors, where we

to furnish the material support for a wife, mother, sister, or in fact any woman 796
who will come forward to perform the ceremony. Thus, a Blood chief 782
once told us that he had been very ill all winter; that he had tried all kinds 793
of doctors without relief, until he was stripped of all his property. At last,
he recovered and then made a vow that with the help of his wife he would
give the sun dance. This he did, but, as he expressed it, "with great diffi- [735]
culty because he was then poor and did not receive adequate help from his
relatives."

Again, it must be noted that women who do not feel equal to the responsi- 796
bility of the medicine woman's office, make a vow to announce publicly their 782
virginity or faithfulness to their marriage vows, as the case may be, though 783
for an unmarried woman to make such a pledge is the exception. This is 793
spoken of as "the going forward to the tongues," the full meaning of which 837
will appear later. The manner and occasion of making this vow are in most
respects similar to the preceding. At a certain stage of the sun dance
proceedings, all the women who made such a promise to the sun, come
forward and make their statements subject to the challenge of any man
present. This bears some resemblance to the virginity tests of the Dakota, [171]
but applies more particularly to married women and marital virtue than
otherwise.

Naturally, the number of women making promises of this kind was much greater than for the more important ceremony. Thus, we have a custom of calling upon the sun in time of need which is an almost universal practice, a more restricted form of such appeal peculiar to women in so far that sexual morality is a necessary qualification, the more specific vow of "going forward to the tongues", and the exceptional vow to perform the medicine woman's functions at the sun dance, a fair illustration of the way in which most complex folk ceremonies are supported by a pyramid of less and less differentiated practices.

In passing, it should be noted that when the vow is made to perform 796
the medicine woman's functions, it is literally an obligation to purchase 782
a natoas bundle, or if already the owner of a bundle, to perform its ritual.[1] 793
A woman may own more than one of these bundles at a time; indeed, we 432
have heard of a woman purchasing new ones at several successive sun
dances. This purchase is a fundamental feature in all bundle ceremonies
to which the sun dance bundle offers no exception.

On the other hand, the vow means more than the mere purchase of a
bundle. We are told that the requirement as to virtue holds strictly for the [837]
vow and the tongue ceremony. A woman can buy a natoas in the ordinary

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[1] This series, volume 7, 215.

796 sense and have it transferred with the ritual even though she has not been
782 true to her husband. We are reminded that Scabby-round-robe's wife[1]
793 was not true to her former husband and that when her husband received a
432 beaver bundle there went with it a natoas and accessories; but that while
837 she could use them by virtue of her relation to a beaver bundle, she was not
competent to make a vow and initiate a sun dance.[2] This is consistent with the tradition that the natoas was once bought from a beaver bundle by a woman who gave the sun dance for that year and used instead of a wreath of juniper as in former ceremonies. It also throws some light on the relation of the natoas to the beaver and the sun dance rituals.

CEREMONY OF THE TONGUES.

796 While it is obvious from the preceding, that the medicine woman takes
782 her vow at no fixed period in the year, the order of procedure is such that as
a rule, she must have taken her vow not later than the spring of the year in
793 which the sun dance occurs. There is no absolute prohibition to qualifying
at a later time, as is often the case at present when the consent of the Indian Agent must be obtained before the ceremony is permitted, but the normal order seems to be as just stated. Any way, in the spring, the medicine woman calls upon her relatives for buffalo tongues (in recent years, those of cattle). These are then saved as requested. In passing, it may be noted
[602] that in all ceremonies, the persons upon whom the burden of responsibility
falls have not only an inherent right to call upon their blood relatives, but these in turn are under obligations to respond. The number of tongues required is uncertain, some informants claiming that there should be an even hundred, others, that four to five full parfleches was the standard.
[252] Naturally, in recent years, the number has been much less. These tongues
[251] are to be sliced, parboiled, and dried like meat. The slices, however,
must be perfect, without holes, and come from the interior of the tongue.

The slicing of these tongues appears to have been the first ceremony of the cycle. It is conducted by a man, usually the father, who formally announced the woman's vow and who conducts all the ceremonies in which

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[1] This series, vol. 2, 83.

[2] For example, we were told that some few years ago the widow of Spotted-eagle took the part of the medicine woman and borrowed a natoas from the mother of Curly-bear. Recently (1911), the latter died. Then the former claimed the natoas on the grounds that she had paid full value for it at the time and that she had now the most right to it. Curly-bear consented. Then, after an interval, this woman transferred it to the wife of —— who made no vow to give the sun dance, for it was generally known that the reputation of the new owner permanently disqualified her for the function of medicine woman.

796 [782] pray for themselves and their relatives after which they distribute dried tongue among them. Finally, there is a general distribution of tongues among the people.

796 837 783 However, there is another aspect of their appearance at this point. The Blackfoot assume that many women have at one or more periods of their lives been invited by a man to commit the offence and that often the occasion is one of great temptation or calls for great presence of mind and will power. Now, when addressing the sun, if so approached, the woman narrates the circumstances, naming the men committing the offence, and recounts the manner of her refusal. In naming the offender, they usually say, "I suppose he hears what I say." These women are also subject to challenge of their having committed adultery. It will be seen from this that the part they take in the ceremony is an ordeal for which most women have little liking and one which they will not undertake lightly. The Blackfoot, themselves, regard it as one of the most solemn occasions in the ceremony. So far as we could learn, no one now living was ever present when one of these women was challenged, but the naming of men who were guilty of improper advances was not unusual.

796 793 A retrospect of the concept of the tongues indicates that the entire ceremony, or their association with the medicine woman and those who are sexually pure, gives them a potency that may be acquired by eating. They seem most closely associated with sexual purity since they are less primary in the function of the medicine woman than in case of those who "go forward," the former being required to possess many virtues, the latter
[785] but one. While the medicine woman fasts and keeps to her tipi, the others do not.

THE MEDICINE WOMAN.

We shall now give our attention to the medicine woman. As previously stated, she is in most respects the central figure in the whole ceremony, around whom centers its more serious and solemn aspects. On the fifth day, an elaborate ritual is demonstrated in her tipi, culminating in the
[778] procession to the dancing lodge. To this ritual belongs a medicine bundle with accessories, known as the natoas, though the name is primarily that of the headdress which the bundle contains. This bundle is transferred in
● [432] the ritualistic way to the medicine woman by the ceremony and thus becomes hers to care for and guard until used again at another sun dance ceremony. The ritual and the bundle have been discussed in detail in Volume 7 of this
[292] series. In addition to the contents of the bundle, there must be a special
[301] robe of elkskin, a dress of the same material, and wristlets of strong elk teeth.

796 stuffed with tobacco seed. The song for the doll on the bonnet is: "Children are
533 running about. They are running from us. They are running towards us. They
are boys. They are powerful." The man says, "Give me the child," and makes the
539 movement of reception. Another song is sung: "Child is crying," and the man
imitates the crying of a child. The song for the little birds is: "Bird says water is
my medicine; it is powerful," for the calf tail: "Man says calf tail I want," and for
the arrow point: "Sharp points are on both sides." Then follows the song for the
leather band which represents the lizard: "Yonder man, I am angry and mad at you."
This song of the lizard refers to the prairie dog chief. The blue paint on the band
represents water and the song for it is: "The blue waters are our medicine." The
song for the feathers is: "Feathers I want." Another song for the plume on the
feathers: "Red I want." This closes the evening ceremony. The man and woman
are put to bed and all go home.

796 This is the ceremony after the first sweathouse is made. Three more moves of
539 the entire camp and three more sweathouses must be made. The fourth move and
343 sweathouse is where the sun dance takes place. Nowadays, only one sweathouse
[484] is made for the sun dance.

796 It seems that the final camp is marked out by a society laying rocks
around its bounds, according to which the arriving bands find their proper
places.

796 At the fourth camp and on the fourth day, the natoas bundle is opened,
778 or its formal ritual demonstrated. Early in the day another tipi is pitched
before the medicine tipi and the covers are joined, thus enlarging the
space and providing for a few spectators. A few men and women are
invited to assist in the ceremony: the men use the rattles and with the
women aid in the singing. The father and other men sit on the north side
[793] of the tipi, the former next the medicine woman's husband; and the other
women sit on the south side, the mother next to the medicine woman. She
directs the medicine woman and the singing of the other women. The
ceremony opens at about ten A. M. with the first series of songs in the ritual.
[534] Three men hold a rattle in each hand, beating them upon the rawhide by
a vigorous downward forward stroke, the seventh rattle is used by the
father.

796 The ritual of the natoas will be found in Volume 7, pp. 215-220. Nor-
778 mally, this ceremony transfers the natoas to the daughter. She may,
however, waive the right, in which case the bundle returns to the former
●432 owner. Yet, she seems to enjoy all the privileges accorded to one having
been an owner.

Theoretically, no one can perform a transfer ceremony without having first owned the bundle in question. In case of the natoas, even now, a beaver owner is regarded as competent to conduct the proceeding, though he may never have gone through the ritual with his wife. This is consistent with the tradition that formerly the natoas was a part of the beaver bundle.[1] Yet, the conditions here are slightly different from those for other bundles in that the father must provide or is charged with the responsibility to see that a natoas is provided. Following the vow, either he or the son makes formal application to the owner of a natoas by the usual presentation of a pipe.[2] 796 778 432

When the daughter begins her fasting, the father has the natoas brought to her tipi. As a rule, the father's wife owns a natoas. Some informants claim that even should the daughter own a natoas, the father must provide another. On the other hand, the daughter can select the eligible natoas. In any case, the father furnishes the daughter with a dress and an elk robe for which he must be paid liberally.[3] [785] [124]

In conclusion, it may be remarked that anyone can make up a natoas, if he has a dream so directing him; also, if he owned a natoas that was lost or otherwise destroyed; if he gave it away, without receiving payment; or if it was buried with someone. Having owned a natoas and transferred it, he cannot duplicate it; should the new owner lose it, he may, if called upon, replace it; likewise, if buried, the surviving husband or wife could call upon him. In all such cases fees are given. When one transfers a medicine bundle and has been paid for it, he has no more right to it and cannot duplicate it on his own motion. Should one sell the bundle without the ceremony of transfer, the ritual remains with him and he can again make up the bundle; should one make the transfer and fail to receive the pay, or waive the pay, he can make it up again. The relatives of one buried with a bundle can call upon a former owner to make it up, after which it must be formally transferred to one of them. Men were sometimes killed on the warpath and their bundles lost; such were replaced as noted above. In every case these must be true duplicates; it is only a dream that authorizes new creations, or variations, however slight.

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the idealized qualities of this woman's function by the following narrative:— 796 793

Once while a medicine woman was sleeping in the sacred tipi during the fasting, a nephew of her husband stole in and made improper advances. 837

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[1] In former times, the natoas and the medicine woman's costume were owned by a beaver man. When a woman gave a sun dance she gave a horse for their use. She just borrowed them. Later on, a beaver man transferred them, whence they became a separate bundle.— Tom Kiyo. [422] [178] [426]

[2] Should the woman already own a natoas and the transferrer (father) own one: the woman must say which bundle shall be used. She can use her own, borrow, or purchase of the transferrer.— Curly-bear.

[3] A Piegan informant comments as follows: The woman can either buy or borrow a natoas. In the olden times she often borrowed because the natoas, the dress, the elk tooth wristlets, and the robe were owned by a beaver man's wife. After a time, however, these were transferred to a medicine woman and were thus separated from the beaver bundle. [426]

conductors, or flankers, keeping the way clear of spectators, etc. The 796
procession moves slowly and by stages. The four principal personages 778
in it keep their eyes upon the ground. The course is southward past the 793
entrance (east side) to the dancing lodge, around the south side, the rear [788]
of the shelter and entering from the north side. Here the medicine woman [346]
remains until the dancing lodge is raised at sunset, when she returns to her [262]
tipi and breaks her fast with berry soup. The father and the son go to a
sweathouse after which their responsibilities also end. During the continuance [343)
of the ceremonies in the sun lodge, the medicine woman cares
for the natoas bundle, now her property, until transferred to another,
but is otherwise free to do as she likes. She usually remains quietly at
home receiving guests and resting.

The part of the medicine woman is truly a sacrifice. She and her 796
husband must pay liberally everyone called upon for ceremonial service 793
directly connected with the tongues and the natoas ritual. They must
also pay a considerable amount of property for the natoas itself. To give (432)
the ceremony means the sacrifice of all personal property. On the other
hand, there is compensation, aside from fulfilling the vow. Her relatives [555)
are very proud of her since she is so virtuous. She is highly respected by
her husband and family. In a measure those who "take the tongues"
are also respected. The medicine woman may act as the mother in a future
sun dance for which she will receive presents and she may eventually
realize something by transferring the natoas to another. Should anything
go wrong during the ceremony, the weather be unfavorable, etc., people [783)
will look with suspicion upon her and say she must have lied in her confession
to the sun. Should she become ill or have deaths in the family, the same
charge will be made.

The Offerings of Cloth. After the procession headed by the father and 796
he is in position at the west side of the dancing lodge, offerings of cloth 782
and clothing are brought up by the people. A man making such an offering
hands the father a filled pipe and the cloth. The father holds the
pipe and offers prayers for the giver and lights and passes the pipe to other
old men sitting around. The cloth he lays in a pile. Then he paints the
giver: first the face is smeared over with red, then black spots are daubed [302]
on the cheeks, nose, forehead, and chin, four in all. A black circle is marked
around each wrist. Women bringing offerings and pipes go to the mother
who prays for them and paints their faces red with a black spot on the nose
and a black circle around the face. There is also a black circle around
each wrist.

of resistance. He is then led up to the hides near the front of the medicine 796
woman's shelter. In former times, four such men were brought up for the 346
ceremony. They must have coups to their records, otherwise they would (555)
not have been selected. In the ceremony of 1904 we observed an attempt
to "catch" a man on horseback, but the struggles of the horse enabled
him to escape. In former times, the friends of the interested party would
have gathered around the rear and sides of the horse forcing him forward
in the lead of the "catcher". This whole catching procedure is said to
symbolise the capture of an enemy.

In order to understand the ceremony that now takes place, it is necessary 796
to know that the right to cut the thong is to the Blackfoot a medicine 346
to be transferred for gifts of property as in case of other medicines. The 424
men who did the cutting in the previous year are to "sell", or transfer, 432
this year. It is they who do the "catching", either in person or by deputy.
Should no one be brought forward, those who performed the rite on the
previous year must again serve. As soon as a man is caught, his relatives
are notified; they come out with all kinds of property to support him in the
transfer. The initiate is brought into the presence of the present owner
of the right, his hands and face are painted, accompanied by ritualistic
prayers. While this proceeds, an old man (usually a relative) stands
somewhat apart and shouts out praise for the initiate. However, this may
be done by a woman, if no man comes forward. A horse and other property
is then given to the former owner of the right, whence it ceases to be his.
The deputy "catcher", if there is one, then receives a small present or two
from the former owner.

The cutting of the thong then takes place. The new owner of the right, 796
standing up by the hide, shouts out his coups. He holds the knife in his 346
hand and while pointing in different directions with it, he tells of a war 555
deed. At the end of each tale he makes a pass with the knife as if to cut
the hide. After four deeds are told, he cuts the hide. For example, he
may say, "At such a place I captured a horse which gives me the right to
cut this, etc." If there are other men with the right, they follow in turn. 796
After this, the thongs are cut with the assistance of other men and distributed 346
at the places where they will be needed. A thong with the tail attached [237]
is used to bind the bunch of boughs to the sun pole, the tail hanging
down.

While this ceremony is going on, gifts of flour, beef, etc., made by white [431]
people are distributed among the old poor people. This is regarded as [177]
a recent intrusion.

The following extract from an unpublished version of the Scar-face [773]
myth accounts for the thong-cutting ceremony:— [539]

791 welfare. During this part of the ceremony the recipient faces the sun. 782 Again, the medicine-pipes and other ritualistic objects are brought up for 796 the dancer to present to the sun. The pipes he holds up with the stems towards the sun, whom he addresses at some length, [276] making requests, etc., after which he smokes the pipe. All the persons present are then permitted to put their lips to the pipe from which they are supposed to derive great benefits. The dancer also receives offerings made to the sun. A young man may fill a pipe and approach with his offerings. The dancer takes the pipe, smokes, prays, paints the man's face, and makes the offering. A woman or child may do this; or a whole [178] family. Formerly, a great deal of old clothing was offered at this time, [425] a custom still practised by the Blood. Also children's moccasins and clothing were offered in this way. As they grew out of them they were given to the sun to promote well-being. In last analysis, it seems that while these dancers are spoken of as weather priests, they are rather sun priests, since through them appeals to the sun are made. It should be noted that they are regarded as independent of and in no way associated with the medicine woman ceremonies or the erection of the dancing lodge, but upon entrance to the booth, the leading weather dancer is said to become the chief and director of all succeeding ceremonies. The length of the ceremony depends entirely upon him and formerly continued as long as he kept his place.

796 Like other rites this one was bought and sold, but it was usual to continue 432 in ownership many years. Anyone could make a vow to dance with the 782 weather dancer and join him in his ceremonies, but such vows were usually made by former owners of the rite. When one makes a vow to purchase the rite, its owner must sell, however reluctant he may be. The transfer must be in the sun dance. It is said that two men once alternately sold to each other for many years so that both could appear in every sun dance.

DANCING.

796 The first ceremony of this character is named the cutting-out dance 535 (to cut out a hole in a robe). It seems to have been performed by a society and occurs early on the fifth day. About four or six old men dance in line with a rawhide which they hold in front of them, singing and beating time on the rawhide with rattles similar to those of the beaver men. The society now divides into two parties, one placing itself north of the center pole, and the other party standing in line south of the center pole. The two parties dance back and forward in front of the pole shooting at it. The

785 796 304 [782] [781] [432] it some weight as evidence. It seems, however, that warriors took the cutting because of a vow, similar to that of the medicine woman. Sometimes a man dreamed that the sun required it of him. The giving of property and the conditions of the transfer were the same as for "cutting the thong," though we have no information that "catching" was permitted. Such may, however, have been tolerated.

[824] The men taking the cutting were nude to the belt. Sage was tied around the wrists and ankles. The hair hung down, held in place by a wreath of cedar (some informants say sage). They were painted white. [302] [532] Rows of spots in blue extended down the sides of the face, over the shoulders and down the arms. Wavy lines of the same color were also drawn down the arms. A circle representing the sun, was made on the breast, also upon the chin and probably on the back opposite the one over the heart. On the forehead was another circle representing the moon. Other informants say a crescent moon in black was used instead of these circles.

785 796 304 432 [782] According to one informant, vows were made to purchase this ceremony when ill or in great danger. If the promise brought results, the vow was fulfilled at the next dance. The supplicant calls upon one having purchased the rite. They enter the booth of the weather dancers, a blanket is held up to shut out the gaze of the others. The transferrer then paints the purchaser. He cuts a hole through the skin of the right shoulder, over the scapula, and a hole over each breast. A small sharpened stick is thrust through each. A shield is hung on the back. Long cords were fastened to those on the breast, the ends of which were tied fast, high up to the center pole. The purchaser goes up to the pole, embraces it, and cries for a time. Then he backs off, and dancing, throws his weight on the ropes. The transferrer jerks the shield from his shoulders and if necessary, [781] assists him in tearing loose. At once, the purchaser goes out into the hills and sleeps in different places to receive power.

[761] It is said that all who take this ceremony die in a few years, because it is equivalent to giving one's self to the sun. Hence, the sun takes them for his own.

785 796 304 [782] The cutting was similar to that described by Catlin and other writers as observed elsewhere. Some informants say the dancers held whistles in their mouths and gazed at the sun as they danced. When all the thongs were torn out, some of the lacerated flesh was cut off as an offering to the sun.

McLean reports the following observations upon this ceremony at a Blood sun dance:—

> ....The chief attraction to the pale-face is what has been ignorantly termed "making braves." I desired very much to see this ceremony *once*, that I might know the

vation and before the establishment of a business 657
committee, it became a central issue in his cam- 159
paign to secure more authority for the tribe over 427
its own future. Objections to the permit system
also gained Hamilton support from both full
bloods and mixed bloods. The permit system
established a fee of $1.00 a head for a fixed
number of cattle to range without restriction on
the Blackfoot Reservation. For the Blackfeet the 578
government imposed the same fee for number of
cattle in excess of one hundred head. Mixed 184
bloods with large cattle herds protested paying 427
any fee. Full bloods were equally resentful since 657
the fee restricted their ability to trade cattle for 233
horses. What the government had viewed as an
insidious process of monopolization was viewed
quite differently by the Blackfeet. Full bloods
took little umbrage with their mixed blood rela-
tives' penchant for acquiring cattle so long as it
allowed them to continue a life-style they cher-
ished above the ownership of beef cattle. Hamil- [159]
ton understood the full blood's attachment to an
older pace of life and resented the government's
interference (NA, 1902b, 1904a, 1904b; 1904c).

With little ability to monitor the system, the 657
government program had little practical effect. 233
Full bloods and mixed bloods simply evaded the
regulations. Later, in 1908, the Office of Indian 422
Affairs modified the permit system charging a fee
to the Blackfeet only for cattle that were not part
of the government's distribution program. Cattle
carrying the Interior Department ID brand were
not charged, while "straight" cattle were charged
a fee for any number. The new program encour-
aged Blackfeet with large herds to brand all of
their cattle with the ID brand, thus escaping the
fee. Branding cattle with the ID brand, however, [411]
also reduced their ability to sell the cattle since [432]
ID cattle could be sold only with the agent's
permission (FRC, 1908).

Hamilton had little difficulty organizing gen- 159
eral resistance to the government's program and 657
in uniting mixed bloods and full bloods in the
effort. By 1915, the general evasion of the pro- 233
gram forced the government to return to a leasing
system. With World War I already in progress in 657
Europe the market price for cattle increased, and 233
[458]

[P.67-A]

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

lodge and to make up the other sacred ob- 531
jects associated with it. When he awoke the [787]
man proceeded to follow these instructions.
Thus each painted lodge is not an entity in [776]
itself but part of a complex of religious objects
belonging to its owner. The owner has [784]
certain rituals to perform and taboos to
recognize so long as he is in possession of
these sacred objects. When he sells his [432]
painted lodge to another an elaborate
transfer ritual must be performed. Painted
lodges have been and still are frequently
transferred from one owner to another within
or among the three Blackfeet tribes. Only [422]
the rightful owner is permitted to make use
of the animal figures that belong to his [424]
lodge. No other man would dare copy them.

When a painted lodge cover became old and worn the paintings on it were transferred to a new one. This was generally in

[P-25-A]

291
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52. Small boy's beaded suit.

531
294

[432]

to match. Each legging bore a long, vertical band of quillwork or beadwork along the outside of the leg. In width and design it was similar to the shoulder and arm bands of the shirt. However, shirts sometimes were transferred from one owner to another without the leggings so that it was not uncommon for men to be seen in dress shirts and leggings with different patterns of decoration. Small boys' dress suits were men's suits in miniature.

Men who had taken scalps or killed enemies in war were privileged to wear hair lock fringes and horizontal painted stripes on their shirts and leggings.

A man's dress suit was a precious possession. Great care went into its manufacture

[P-48-A]

The informants were questioned as to the size of the tipis when their ancestors used the tipi rings. They all agreed on the fact that the tipis were not large before their people acquired the horse. Several of them said that they heard of large tipis or tipi rings with two fireplaces during "horse days"; this tipi had to be taken apart when moving. George Bull Child, the interpreter, had interesting information on the size of the precontact lodge: 342

> The tipis were not very large before my people got the horse. The dogs were bigger then, but they could not carry very much even though the travois made a load lighter. A certain dog would have to carry a tipi skin alone. The lodge poles would be smaller in those days, so that a dog could pull them. A big cover would be only ten skins then. Some fellows would say, "My tipi is six skins." A big chief would have ten skins. Later on, when they got the horse, eighteen to twenty skins was average. [10] [492] [493]

Adam White Man said that small tipi rings occurring in a camp of larger rings may have resulted from the smaller dwellings of widows, elderly people, and from children's play tipis.[11]

All the informants were asked whether or not their people ever returned to the same campground and occupied the same tipi ring. Several of them thought that it was not the usual practice for their people to return to the same ring. Bull Head agreed with this but added, "It was not the usual practice for people to come back to the same ring, but my father did return to the one I am protecting. There is no reason to believe that my father considered he owned the tipi ring that he returned to." Information contrary to this was given by Annie Calf Looking: 423

> Yes, my grandmother said that her people, the Don't Laugh band, would leave their rock ring and mark it.[12] No, she did not tell me where they camped but she did tell me that they marked their camp. They marked their own stone ring and they could not take another person's ring. If you wanted someone's ring, you would have to pay dearly for the spot.[13] You would have to give robes, dogs or horses if you came and wanted to take someone's ring away. There was quite a dispute when someone came and took another person's camping ground. Each person would know right where their ring was located. When a person died, their brother could take the ring, give it to someone else, or leave it blank. People kept from taking a person's ring because they were afraid of the dead. [211] [432] [768]

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[10] In his letter of March 21, 1954, Ewers believes "the estimate given by this informant on the *average* size of the Blackfoot lodges in posthorse period to be excessive. My informants (independently) seemed to agree very well with Wissler that the average sized tipi was *twelve to fourteen* skins." (Italics mine.) [114]

[11] A photograph confirming Adam White Man's statement was published by McClintock (1936, p. 10), in which two children are shown playing in a small tipi, the sides of which are held down by rocks. A modern example of this play tipi was photographed by the writer at the 1956 Blackfoot encampment (pls. 55, c; 58, b; 61, a). [857] [345]

[12] Cecile Black Boy claimed that the tipi ring was marked by buffalo horn cores left among the rocks of the ring. [237]

[13] Annie Calf Looking may be here confusing ownership of the ring (as a collection of rocks) with ownership of the right to camp in a certain position in the camp circle (see, e. g., Grinnell, 1892, p. 224).

531 301 [778]

> of quillworking and also so there wouldn't be any children or other persons around who might distract the worker.

531 782 [302] After being initiated, the new quillworker was expected to make a single moccasin which was left on a high hill as an offering to the Sun. When starting to work, the face would be painted and red ochre placed on the necklace and the backs of the hands. The arms were then crossed over the breast and a prayer given to the Sun.

531 [431] According to the informant, only three women in her grandmother's camp had the right to do quillwork. If persons wanted something quilled, such as a suit, moccasins or a ceremonial object, they would give gifts to one or all of these women. Very often the three would work together on a large object. When one woman became too old, she would initiate a younger woman, usually a relative, so that she might receive the art from her.

[115] Inquiry among the other Blackfoot tribes revealed some additional information on the subject. One North Peigan woman, Mrs. Bob Crow Eagle, whose mother had been a ceremonialist, said:

[424]

> There were only a few women who had the right to do certain work in the old days. It was these women who could do quillworking or could give permission for others to do such work.

[115] A Blood informant, Harry Big Throat, also recalled ceremonial significances:

[753]

> Many years ago, there was a woman who wouldn't go through any ceremony before doing quillwork. One day she was working, flattening the quills with her teeth. The white stuff from the inside of the quill went into her mouth and she got sick and died. Ever since then the Bloods have been slow to take up quillworking. They are afraid of it, afraid that something might happen to them.

[782] He also remembered seeing Mrs. Red Crow, wife of the head chief (1879-1900), doing quillwork. She would spread all her tools and quills in front of her, and then pray before starting to work.

531 425 432 Two informants also mentioned that quillwork was not supposed to be sold. It could be made for friends or relatives, or commissioned by others in the camp, but could not be manufactured solely for sale. This, explained one woman, is the reason craftworkers in the res-

432
ervation period have not turned to quillworking 531
as a source of revenue.

Another informant, Mrs. Day River, said 425
that quillwork designs were sometimes the
result of dreams and could be used only by the 531
owners unless they wished to give them away.
If widespread, this custom could have been a [787]
factor in retarding the diffusion of quillwork
designs through the northern Plains and later [177]
may have affected the spread of beadwork designs. Rather than a mere tribal affinity for certain designs, there may have been a reluctance on religious grounds for copying designs which came from other tribes.

Comparative data on quillworking from other 171
tribes is scanty, but Grinnell (1923) indicates
a complex quilling society among the Cheyenne. 531
There are a number of comparable features, particularly in its religious significance and restrictive features.

Footnote:

1. Interviews with Mrs. Victoria McHugh, 531
Blackfoot Reserve, Oct. 17 and Nov. 16, 1960.
These interviews were made during the production of a short motion picture film for the Glenbow Foundation, dealing with Blackfoot quillwork. 115

Ewers, John C. 113
1945 Blackfeet Crafts. United States Indian Service.

Grinnell, George Bird
1923 The Cheyenne Indians, Vol. 1, pp. 159-67. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Orchard, William C.
1916 The Technique of Porcupine Quill Decoration Among the North American Indians. Museum of the American Indian. Heye Foundation, New York, Vol. 4, No. 4.

Hugh A. Dempsey
Glenbow Foundation
Calgary, Alberta
October, 1962

[P53-B]

Certainly the ordeal required both courage
796 and fortitude, but the Chief says, and he should know, that the
785 event represented the fulfilment of a vow which the participant
had made to the sun on the occasion of his requesting some special
[782] favor, such as protection in war or the recovery from illness of a
loved one. Of special interest is the fact that if the skewers did not
tear loose after a reasonable term of sincere effort by the dancer, it
was the prerogative of any respected warrior to step forth, recite
his war honors by way of qualification, and sever with a knife the
strips of flesh which bound the dancer to the thongs; whereupon
the severed flesh was given as an offering to the sun. Such a brutal
religious gesture!—almost as nutty as having yourself lashed and
wearing a hair shirt over the open wounds. Those who fast at the
[178] Sun Dance for four days take no refreshment except a small drink of
water at sunrise and sunset, and since some of the old ladies and
gentlemen are too frail to survive such an ordeal, it is now allowable
for a surrogate faster to deny himself in their stead. There is nothing
supposititious about this action; it is intended by the surrogate as a
gesture of respect to the worthy old-timers and is done in the same
spirit that the cutting of the flesh of the dancer formerly was conducted.

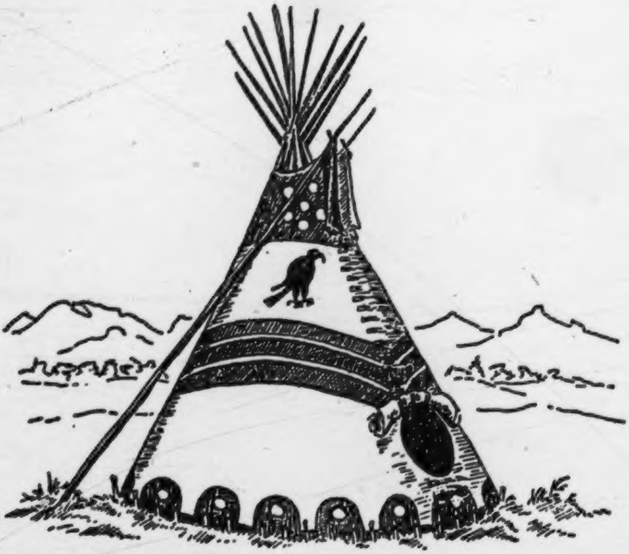
342 The Chief mentioned something about the Indian teepee or lodge
178 which came as a surprise to me but which I should have had sense
enough to know without being told. The old buffalo hide teepees
were much smaller than their modern canvas counterparts. Hide
weighs much more than canvas, and even though the Blackfoots
used the lighter summer hides of the buffalo, or even split the hide
to reduce its bulk, a teepee constructed of more than six or eight
hides was simply too heavy for the nomadic Blackfoots to conveniently
[492] pack around. Some wealthy families, who had many horses
and so could provide travois transportation for more worldly goods,
had larger teepees, but these had to be divided into two or more
parts because a single horse could not manage to pull the load.

342 The discussion moved on to the Blackfoot painted lodges, and
532 here we really struck paydirt. Even in the old days there were only
about four dozen painted lodges among all three tribes of the Black-
[619] foot Confederacy, and the lodges were not painted helter-skelter or
at the whim of the owner. The painted lodge was associated with a
[778] medicine bundle of some sort, and the designs painted on the lodges
[787] were either inspired by a vision that the owner had had or were
[432] purchased (the exclusive privilege of using the design, that is)
[424] from the previous owner. The Chief related the traditional origin of

342 under the water for such a long time that Weasel Heart began
532 to think that he might have drowned, but finally he came up
539 again and said, "I have a painted buffalo lodge down there."

Weasel Heart said, "I think I see another lodge down there." So he dived down into the green hole, and when he came up again he said, "I have a buffalo lodge down there too."

342 One of the buffalo lodges is a black lodge and the other is a
532 yellow lodge. Today, the black buffalo lodge belongs to me,
and the yellow buffalo lodge belongs to your brother, Jim.
● [432] When I purchased the black buffalo lodge, many years ago, I
[424] paid for it five race horses, four beeves, many blankets and
other trade goods, and also some money.



THE EAGLE LODGE

237 In the early days, the Blackfoots used eagle feathers in making their warbonnets and in decorating their shields and their
223 lances and many other things. Sometimes they would capture grown eagles by digging a pit and covering the pit with branches and placing some meat on top of the branches as

159 under any circumstances, use red paint on your blanket." The
778 medicine articles which I purchased from the Thunder Medicine
796 Man included a drum, some medicine bells, and a small
[756] piece of metal.

[432] Later on [in the fall of the year 1901] I went through a
[432] ceremony with Flat Tail and Drags His Robe in order to purchase
a medicine pipe bundle. This bundle contained two
medicine pipes. One pipe came from Sun; the other pipe came
from Thunder.

159 During the Pipe Ceremony I used red paint on my blanket,
and that same night I had a dream in which two men came
796 to my house to visit me. They said that I had been warned not
787 to use red paint, and since I had ignored the warning they
763 were going to punish me by taking away my first child, my little
784 girl. They said that they would be back to let me know when
they were going to take my daughter away from me. The men
[776] did not tell me who they were, but I knew that they were
Thunder and Sun.

159 I went with my friend Many Guns to visit the Bloods over
in Canada [a customary response of the Plains Indian to an
484 emotional crisis was the paying of a visit to a distant relative
154 or close friend; this custom is adhered to by the Blackfoot Indian
763 even today], and while I was in Canada word reached me
that my daughter was very ill. I returned home immediately.

At that time I was still living near the main fork of Cut Bank
159 Creek. When I arrived at my house, my father was holding my
763 little girl in his lap. Earrings, who was an Indian doctor, was
[759] attempting to treat the child, but as soon as I entered my baby
ran to me and clung to me.

159 That night I dreamed that the same two men came to me and
told me that very soon now they would be coming for my child.
763 In the same dream I saw a rider coming. The two men pointed
787 to the rider and said, "We want your daughter, and we want
that rider too." The rider was Mad Wolf. My daughter died
the next day. Mad Wolf died four days later.

159 The drum that I had received from the Thunder Medicine
Man had been the favorite plaything of my little girl. After
778 my child's death I could no longer bear even to look at the
drum, so I threw it into the creek.

The following year I attended a Medicine Lodge above
Browning. The Holy Woman was Snake Woman, the wife of
Morning Gun. There had been a flood that spring, and when

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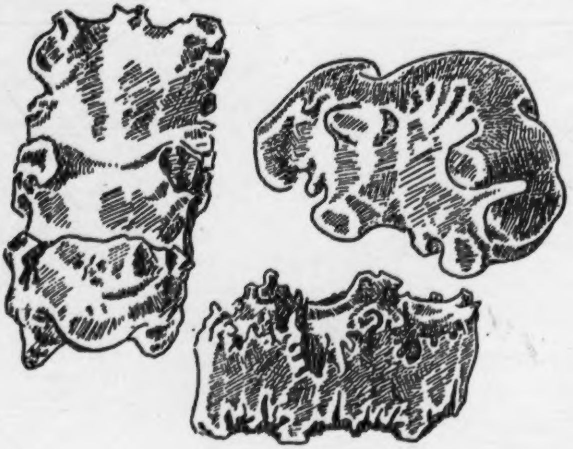

Buffalo Stones

Saturday, September 15

Both Jim and the Chief were up before I this morning. The Chief 122
feels much better, and there was much joking and carrying-on around here including a mock boxing match between Dad and Jim. At breakfast, Dad chewed Jim out about his horses; Jim has about fifteen head out on the range, but only six are in the pasture.

I am to receive a Medicine Pipe in conjunction with the Beaver 123
Ceremony (presumably in a separate ceremony), and in the Black- 778
foot tradition my relatives (Jim, in this case) are required to give to 432
the present owner of the Pipe (the Chief) certain gifts, among them
a horse. The Chief says that this is his chance to get his hands on (431)
that fine buckskin mare of Jim's. For "buckskin," the Chief used the term *och-t'kói-miu* (yellow-colored horse). He might instead have said, *sík-ku-ah-si* (black-tailed horse), or, *In-nu-kóh-ku-yi* (elk-colored horse), but by any name the buckskin would be a magnificent animal—and of course the transfer of ownership will be in fact just a formality. Jim and the Chief make a big thing of who owns what on the ranch, and they are constantly attempting to con one another out of things. But this is merely the affectionate mock-competition common to men friends of all races. Both the Chief and Jim are extremely generous, and they would cheerfully give one another—or me—anything they have, without question or comment.